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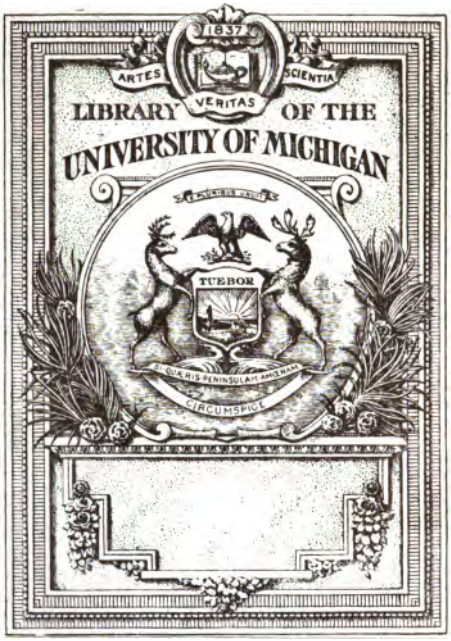

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MEMOIRS

AND

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

REIGN *and* GOVERNMENT

OF

King *CHARLES* the Ist.

AND

K. *CHARLES* the IId.

Containing an ACCOUNT of ſeveral remarkable Facts not mentioned by other Hiſtorians of thoſe Times: Wherein the Character of the ROYAL MARTYR, and of King CHARLES II. are Vindicated from Fanatical Aſperſions.

Written by Sir RICHARD BULSTRODE, Reſident at *Bruſſels* to the Court of *Spain*, from King CHARLES II. and Envoy from King JAMES II. till the Revolution 1688.

Now Firſt Publiſhed from his Original MANUSCRIPT.

LONDON: Printed by *N. MIST*, for *Charles Rivington*, at the *Bible* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1721.

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TO THE

READER.

WHEN the Posthumous Pieces of any Author have for some Years lain in Obscurity, and at last come into the World, the Publisher, for his own Reputation, is obliged to satisfy the Publick, that they are the genuine Productions of that Pen to which his Title Page pretends to ascribe them.

THAT these MEMOIRS may fall under no Suspicions of being spurious, it is necessary that I should account for

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their coming into my Poſſeſſion. When I was laſt Year in *Paris*, it was my good Fortune to contract ſome Acquaintance with a younger Son of Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, who then reſided there, as Governour in the Family of the young Earl of *Fingal*. I had not long enjoy'd the Honour of his Converſation, before he frankly gave me the Copy of theſe MEMOIRS, with free Liberty to make them publick to the World, and aſſured me they were all wrote by the Hand of Sir *Richard* his Father. The Town is therefore indebted to this Gentleman's Generoſity, and are to look upon me as an Agent that labours to be faithful in acquitting my ſelf of a Charge intruſted to me.

I SHOULD have thought it a neceſſary Piece of Juſtice, to have made a Character of Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, a Part of this Preface, but find all that is requiſite on this Head is already done by *Whitlock Bulſtrode*, Eſq; likewiſe a Son of the Author, and who has obliged the Publick with a Volume of his Father's Eſſays,

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To the Reader.

Eſſays, Printed in *Octavo* in the Year 1715, where the Reader may be entertained with a preliminary Account, how well Sir *Richard* was qualify'd both for an Author and Stateſman.

If theſe Sheets could ſtand in need of any other Proof of their being genuine, than the Aſſertion I have given from whoſe Hands I received them, I could not deſire a ſtronger concurring Teſtimony than thoſe Eſſays. Every Judge, who will do himſelf the Pleaſure of a Compariſon, will find both thoſe and the MEMOIRS penn'd in the ſame Style, and with the ſame Caſt of Thought and Spirit of Language. The Contents being Matter of Fact, they ſhould neither be partial, nor of a Party; yet if ſome will think he reflects too ſeverely, let them conſider he wrote at a Time when Faction and Presbytery had undone his Royal Maſter, and left a very poor Proſpect of the Kingdom it ſelf eſcaping from their Rancour.

Nath. Miſt.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Reign and *Government*

OF

K. *CHARLES* the I^st.

IT is natural for all Men, when ſtreightened with Fears, to run for Shelter to what their Fancy preſents as an Inſtrument of their Eaſe and Remedy; but he that hath Time to deliberate, unleſs he places his Hopes upon ſomething that is like to eaſe his Pain, by making his Afflictions leſs, or his Pa-

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tience more, deserves that Misery he groans under: But Afflictions which come by God's Appointment, represent the Sadness of Mortality, and become Monuments of Mens Piety and Devotion. In the unnatural War, which the Subjects of King *Charles* I. began against their most lawful Sovereign, contrary to all Solemnies of Christianity, and of all that is called Good, I was then very young, and in a Labyrinth, not knowing well which Way to go; but at last I resolved to go to *Whitehall*, with some Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple*, being then newly come thither from *Cambridge*, where I had been bred, in *Pembroke-Hall*. I was brought up to *London* by my Father, from *Coventry*, where we then dwelt: We were all brought into the King's Presence by the Lord Chamberlain, and had the Honour to kiss the King's Hands, who took our Coming very kindly, and at the same time told us, he hoped he should have no need of our Service.

About this Time, the King, and the Laws, (who by God and Man respectively are appointed the sole Protectors of Innocence and Truth) had themselves, I thought, the greatest need of a Protector; and when I consider'd our King's Case, in the Beginning of his Troubles, methought it was much like to that of King *David*, who was vexed with a Civil War, both by his Son *Absalom*, and by his own People: But the Case of our King was worse than that of King *David*; for the Text says, his Enemies kept about him *like Bees*, and were extinct; there was

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ſome Honey with them; but our King's Enemies came about him like Hornets, where there was all Sting, and no Honey. And indeed the King's Caſe was rather like that of *Iſaac* ready to be ſacrificed; the Wood was prepared, the Fire kindled, the Knife was lift up, and the Hand was ſtriking; and if the King's loyal Subjects had not been ſomething like *Abraham* too, having, out of Hope, believed in Hope, we had been as much without Comfort, as we were in outward Appearance without Remedy. Indeed I then ſaw ſuch unparallel'd Revolutions in our *Engliſh* Monarchy, as I hope will never be imitated, and will be ſcarce credited in After-Ages; whereupon I have thought it worth my Time to give ſome Account of thoſe great and ſtrange Tranſactions, wherein I was perſonally engag'd, which are ſtill freſh in my Memory, having faithfully ſerved King *Charles* I. from the Year 1640, which Civil War ended not till 1648, in the moſt deplorable Murder of the beſt of Kings, whoſe Cauſe at laſt God ſo owned, and ſo vindicated his Honour, that never Prince was more truly lamented, nor his Poſterity, by divine Providence, more wonderfully re-eſtabliſhed, without the Aſſiſtance of any foreign Power, tho' his rebellious Subjects uſed all poſſible Diligence, (which either Wit or Malice could invent) to extirpate the Royal Family, both Root and Branch.

I preſume, the Duty of my publick Employments abroad, under King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. will in ſome Meaſure plead my Excuſe

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for giving some Relations of the War of King *Charles* I. which have not yet been mention'd, and of those sudden Changes, and violent Revolutions happen'd in the last Age; and being now grown old to all worldly Pleasures, after many long and faithful Services to the Crown, and being wholly unacquainted with the Knowledge of Riches, or with the Cares of increasing them, or the Fears of losing them, and finding little Taste in common Conversation, I have spent my latter Years in writing some Memoirs, Poems, and other Discourses, to shew that I have not spent my last Days in Idleness and Vanity; and that since I can no longer live in an active Life, I may not die an unprofitable Servant. And yet I have but small Inclination to write, when the Number of Scribblers in this last Age hath given the World a Surfeit, by the mischievous Liberty of Writing, whereby great Advantage hath been taken, to corrupt People with false Notions of Government, which hath destroyed Millions of Men, by engaging them in such a Rebellion, as no Age or Nation can equal, under Pretence of Religion and Law: And tho' at first it did not break out into Blood, but was carried on for some time with Paper Skirmishes, yet at last it grew too strong for both; and according to the usual Practice, when any Rebellion was hatching, they that designed it, immediately cry'd out, *Hannibal ad Portas*, and that what they did, was to preserve their Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties, when none of them were

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in

in Danger; and when they moſt flattered their Sovereign, and called God to witneſs the Purity of their Intentions, even then they were preparing their Weapons to murder him. And as it is ſeen in natural Bodies, that Fatneſs of Diet doth for the moſt Part lay the Foundation of Maladies, which cannot be expell'd by the moſt ſkillful Phyſician, without the Uſe of ſome extraordinary Medicines; ſo, in our Body Politick, we were bleſs'd with long Peace, with Riches and Plenty the Product of it, and by the propitious Influence of our King, when we thus flouriſhed, we went only to throw away thoſe bleſſed Fruits of Peace, ſo that the whole Body Politick was quickly out of Order: And tho' perhaps there were ſome Errors and Irregularities in the Government, yet they proceeded not from any Pravity of Diſpoſition in the King, nor from any Principles of Arbitrary Government; it being confeſſed by the King's greateſt Enemies, that he was indued with the beſt and pureſt Morals, of any Prince that ever held the *Engliſh* Scepter. But his People thought that ſome evil Counſellours did captivate him at their Pleaſure, and did thruſt his Majeſty into Actions prejudicial to himſelf and the common Good; upon which they were invited by that rebellious Parliament to take Arms, under the plauſible Shew of Reformation and Liberty, when many of them, in the Simplicity of their Hearts, never had the leaſt Intention of abridging the King of any of his juſt Prerogative, but only to reſtrain ſome Exceſſes in

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Government, which they really thought were the Excreſcences of ſovereign Power, and were rather Burthens than Ornaments of his royal Diadem. Indeed his very Example would have had a greater Influence upon his Subjects, than the ſtricteſt Laws. He was ſo great a Lover of Juſtice, and ſo great a Juſticiar himſelf, that no Temptations could diſpoſe him to a wrongful Action, unleſs it were ſo diſguiſed to him, that he believed it to be juſt; and yet I cannot but confeſs, that a Prince's Fame, in this World, depends more upon his wiſe Adminiſtration, than upon his private Morality and good Life. The Goodneſs of his Government depends chiefly upon thoſe that adviſe him, who are to yield unto their Prince all the Reputation ariſing from their good Counſels, and never to intercept the Honour of them from the King: It being an infallible Maxim, That he is not the worſt King, that is the worſt Man, but he who hath the worſt Counſellours and Inſtruments under him.

The Laws of *England* making them the only Perſons obnoxious to be arraigned and puniſhed, being in the King's Confidence, and in the Head of his Affairs, theſe ſhould have been pitched upon to anſwer criminally for all thoſe things which were then called Miſcarriages; the Law having mark'd them out as Offenders, and as Offerings of Attonement for the King's Faults (were he guilty of any) but inſtead of this, the King (whom all the Laws of the Land, and the Conſtitution it ſelf, hold not only unpuniſhable,

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puniſhable, but innocent) was elected as the Scape-Goat, to have the Offences of his Miniſters, and the ſubordinate Tools of the Government, tranſmitted and laid upon him.

Thus Rebels are never without ſome Pretext to palliate their Actions; and rather than fail, will make their Vizard of Religion, which (if true) is a Setler, not a Stickler in Government: She confirms Men in Obedience, and does not encourage them in Rebellion. It is a great Miſtake indeed, to think Peace is well enough preſerved, if the Sword be not drawn, and think it not War, becauſe we do not take the Field; whereas, we may as well call it Health, when there is a dangerous Fermentation in the Blood, becauſe the Patient hath not taken his Bed: For certainly, where there is not a firm Truſt between the King and his People, from a due Obedience to his Laws and Government, and a ſteady Care not to remove the ancient Landmarks, not to diſturb thoſe Conſtitutions, which the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors hath ſetled, in order to preſerve the whole Frame of the Government upon the old Foundations: When any of theſe fail, the Kingdom muſt needs fall into Confuſion, as was miſerably ſeen in the Time of this unhappy Prince.

But, to find the Beginning of theſe Evils, we muſt look back as far as Queen *Elizabeth*, where we ſhall diſcover the Presbyterians contriving what they have ſince put in Execution, to the eternal Scandal of the *Engliſh* Nation. Their Religion hath always been imperious,

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turbulent, and bloody, and hath embroil'd all Places with Rebellion, where it once got Footing, from its firſt Riſe at *Geneva*, to its Remove into *France*, from thence into *Holland*, ſo into *Scotland*, and from thence to its Arrival in *England*. They are impatient of any kind of Government; Theocracy it ſelf would not pleaſe them, for they conclude againſt all Governments. From their firſt Inſtitution, they ſhewed their Hatred againſt Monarchs, and they ſtill glory to have had a principal Part in moſt of the Commotions of Chriſtendom, ſince they took up the Work of Reformation; and by their frequent Inſurrections in *England*, they gave the firſt Occaſion of ſaying, *Rex Angliæ, Rex Diabolorum.* The reſt of Schiſmaticks are but their Spawn; *Calvin* firſt founded his Preſbytery and Treaſon: For when they at *Geneva* had, in his Abſence, expell'd their lawful Prince, he not only encourag'd, but confirm'd what they had done, at his Return. Preſbytery never was received into any State, where it did not embroil; never any Man was poſſeſſed with it, whom it did not ſtrangely transform with Moroſeneſs; all their Writings are ſtuff'd with reproachful Language againſt the ſacred Perſons of Princes, with Dethroning Principles, and King-killing Doctrines, as may be ſeen in *Calvin*'s *Inſtitutions*, in that of *Junius Brutus*, in *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, written by *Beza*, and *Knox*'s *Appellation to the People*, and *Buchanan*'s *Jus Regni apud Scotos*, which he had the Impudence to dedicate to King *James*, in

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in which Book, and others of their Writings, they say, The People are the Original of all just Power, and that wicked Kings, for their Misgovernment, may be put to Death by their Subjects: An impious Principle! justly condemn'd, and fitted only for the Mouth of a *Ravilliac*. History tells us, that, in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* I. the Presbyterians were always grumbling and murmuring against the Times, their whole Practice being to deprive God of his Glory, the Prince of his Honour, and the People of their Senses, affirming the Condition of *England* was miserable. In the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Pulse of the People began to beat high (by the Instigation of the Presbyterians) towards an Aristocratical Government, under a Kingly Title, and the malicious Enemies of the Church and State did then begin to appear; but that watchful Queen was soon alarmed, and so asserted her Prerogative, that she kept all in their Duty: She declared, and protested publickly, that no Trouble should arrive to the *Roman* Catholicks, for any Difference in Religion (which did much abate the Opposition which might possibly have been made by them) hoping for fair Quarter under her Government. She knew well, that a King or Queen of *England*, how sovereign soever, could not establish a new Religion in their Kingdom, without the Authority and Countenance of a Parliament; and therefore, to win the Bishops, and the rest of the *Roman* Catholicks in Parliament, at least

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leaſt to Obedience, ſhe was content to uſe Policy with them, and would qualify the Style of Supreme Head of the Church and State, to that of Supreme Governour, which, tho' it alter'd not the Senſe, yet it abuſed many into a Belief or Conceit, that the Queen pretended not ſo much Primacy Eccleſiaſtick as the King her Father had done, who was the firſt King of *England* that ever gave Cauſe to try the admirable Patience and Obedience of his Catholick Subjects, who took not Arms againſt their Sovereign, and had no other Weapons but *Præces & Lachrymæ*, the Prayers and Tears of the Church, for their Refuge.

Indeed Queen *Elizabeth* was ſo careful, that the Parliament could make no Impreſſion upon her Sovereignty; and tho' the Cry of Perſecution was pretty loud, and that the Enemies of Church and State were troubleſome to her, yet, by her conſtant Reſolution, ſhe was not overborne by any Faction; and finding it eaſier to crop them in the Bud, than to pull them up by the Roots, ſhe took the right Courſe with them, by putting the Schiſmaticks under the Statute of Recuſancy, equal with the *Roman* Catholicks, whereby ſhe quieted All; and often declared in Parliament, That both Houſes had only Authority to adviſe and conſent to what they thought was for the common Good and Benefit of her Subjects: And wherever the Prince is not jealous of Underminers, and active to preſerve the eſtabliſh'd Government, there will never want Spirits to attempt a Change, and make

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make Religion a Shelter for their Rebellion. It is certain, the *Engliſh* have always loved thoſe Princes beſt, who grounded their Power in the Affections of their People, who ruled them by their old Laws, and uſed ſuch moderate Power, as was conſiſtent with their Government, rather than ſuch as aim'd at any Change, which might tend to ſubvert their ancient Conſtitution; and ſeldom any Prince hath miſcarried, who conſtantly purſued the publick Good, and directed all his Counſels to his Country's Eaſe; but thoſe Princes have been full of diſaſtrous Troubles, who have obſtinately adhered to a Few, againſt the Whole, and have conferred that Affection to particular Perſons, which ſhould be extended to the univerſal Body of the People.

The Truth is, the Excellency of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Government was, that, at her firſt Coming to the Crown, ſhe found a Council of able Miniſters (which in the laſt Age were not ſeen) which ſhe continued, who managed the publick Affairs with ſuch prudent Conduct, that their Counſels and Actions, as they were either Gown or Sword Men, gave great Satisfaction, and had great Influence upon the whole Nation. But her Succeſſor, King *James*, was not ſo wary, who came to the Crown under many Difficulties; for, the Mixture of a Stranger Nation, formerly upon no good Terms with *England*, the Subjection of it to a Stranger Prince, whoſe Nature and Diſpoſition being unknown, could not but prove of very ill Conſequence, who let that ill Humour in the Peo-

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ple imbibe so fast, that it soon bred in them a violent Contumacy against the Prerogative: And this King *James* minding his Pleasures more than his Business, his Favourites were more esteemed than his Statesmen; who thereupon permitted his Favourite *Scotchmen* (coming out of a poor mountainous Country, into a rich Soil) to make a Harvest of the Crown Revenue; and when handsom Mr. *Villiers* was brought into Favour (for Handsomness went a great Way in our Court) he came suddenly to have so prodigious an Ascent upon the King, that he entirely disposed of all his Favours, and did whatever he pleas'd.

In the Beginning of this King's Government, the King had no great Choice of excellent Men; and Mr. *Villiers*'s Ascent was so quick, that it seem'd rather a Flight than a Growth; and he was such a Darling of Fortune, as if he had been born a Favourite, being Supreme the first Month he came to Court. However, he was very unfortunate in the Election of his Dependants, few of his Servants being qualified enough to advise him, and were intent only of growing rich under him, and not upon their Master's being as Good as Great. And if this great Favourite had been so happy as to have had but one faithful Friend, that Person might have done great Service to both his Masters, even to Father and Son. In King *James* the Father's Time, he took the Prince of *Wales* into *Spain*, contrary to the King's Opinion, who yet submitted to him; and upon a particular Discon-

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Discontent of his own, broke the intended Marriage, and brought back the Prince, to the great Satisfaction both of King and People; which Action was so highly approved in the last Parliament of that King, that the Duke of *Bucks* was called, The Saviour of the People; and the Earl of *Bristol* then Ambassador at *Madrid*, was recalled, and Articles exhibited against him by the Duke, and by his Interest was kept out of the House of Lords. Now all that happen'd in *Spain* is here very well worth relating, which I have had from a very sure Hand, which hath been kept private from many.

The Earl of *Bristol* was employ'd Ambassador in *Spain* by King *James*, to treat of the Marriage with the then *Infanta* of *Spain*. The King of *Spain* being zealous for the *Roman* Catholick Religion, insisted to procure some Favours for the *English Roman* Catholicks, which related no farther, than to a Freedom of Religion for the *Infanta*, her Servants, and the Children of the Marriage, and her Ecclesiasticks and Religious, which could not be done, without the King's particular Licence and Dispensation; to which the King assented. But this Affair being longer delayed, the *Spanish* King urged farther, in Favour of the *English Roman* Catholicks in general (but the Manner and Way of doing it, was to be left to his Majesty's Wisdom:) Whereupon King *James* and Prince *Charles* both signed; and King *James*, for farther Satisfaction, did, by the Lord *Conway*, his then Secretary of State, dated *Aug.* 7. 1623. declare and engage,

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That his ſaid Majeſty would cauſe a preſent Suſpenſion, under the Great Seal of *England*, of all thoſe penal Laws whereunto his *Roman* Catholick Subjects were before ſubject, and under the ſame Great Seal would give a Diſpenſation and Toleration to all his *Roman* Catholick Subjects, as well Prieſts as temporal Perſons. The Marriage not taking Effect, and Animoſities happening betwixt the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Earl, before King *James*'s Death having been impeached in Parliament; yet he wrought ſo with the Houſe of Commons, as to impeach the Duke, who then prevailed with his preſent Majeſty, that the Impeachment of the Earl ſhould be firſt try'd in the ſame Parliament, thereby to cauſe the Earl to forbear Proſecution of his Charge againſt the Duke, or to invalidate his Teſtimony. One of the Articles charged againſt the Earl of *Briſtol* was, *That he counſelled and perſwaded King* James, *to grant and allow the Papiſts free Toleration, and ſilencing all Laws made againſt them.* But the Earl poſitively denied this Article, and ſaid, it was only declared, *That he would diſpenſe with the Laws, which imported no more than a Permiſſion to exerciſe their Religion in private Houſes, and to ſuſpend the Execution of the Laws againſt them for a time; all which the King had Power to do:* But to grant a free Toleration, imports an Allowance of publick Worſhip, and the ſilencing all Laws againſt them, might import a total Repeal, *which the King did not claim a Right*

to

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to do himself. When the Impeachment was brought into the Lords House, the Earl of *Bristol* did put in his Answer to it, and positively denied, that he had counselled any thing in the Matter charged, and declared fully what was done, and what was signed by the late King *James*, and King *Charles*; as also the Declaration made by the Lord *Conway*, by the King's Order; and added, *That the Duke of* Buckingham, *being then the greatest Minister of State, and Favourite to King* James, *did advise all things in the Affair: That the Lord* Conway *certainly signed the Declaration.* The Earl wanted neither Wit nor Courage to charge the Duke with Crimes as distasteful as he could find any; and he spared not the Lord *Conway*, who was the Duke's Friend, and must have been the best Witness to save the Duke, in case the Charge had been prosecuted. The Parliament then sitting was as diligent to enquire into Misdemeanours, as much displeased with the Duke, and as little fond of the Lord *Conway*, then Secretary of State, and were as much enclined to enquire into the too much advancing or stretching the King's Prerogative, to the Prejudice of the Subject, and against the Laws, as any Parliament which ever sat in *England. Yet neither did the Parliament, or the Earl of* Bristol, *charge any thing against the Duke, or the Lord* Conway, *for advising to dispense with Penal Laws, nor did the Parliament prosecute the Earl of* Bristol *upon the Impeachment against him,* tho' he was thereby particularly charged for

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for adviſing the King to diſpenſe with the Penal Laws. *Now, if King* James *and King* Charles I. *did paſs any Act of Parliament (as ſome affirm) to bar themſelves or the Crown of this Right, the ſame could be only intended as to the ordinary Exerciſe of that Right*, but not to the extraordinary, where the publick Good requires the ſame ſhould be exerciſed. The King's Proceedings were to be thus intended, and not otherwiſe, which was proved by the King's continual Exerciſe of that Power, in the Suſpenſion of Penal Laws, never queſtioned or complained of, but ſtill ſubmitted unto, and admitted as legal; *as namely, thoſe touching the Importation of* French *Wines:* And it was clear by his Majeſty's Practice for many Years, that he thought it both reaſonable and legal, to continue the Diſpenſations by which his Majeſty ſuſpended many Laws, without any Oppoſition.

About this Time a War was declared with *Spain*, which was carried on by the violent Humour of the Duke, whoſe Power was ſo great, that he govern'd all without a Rival; which Preheminence he managed very unthriftily, diſpoſing of all Places to his own Relations, where there was no Advantage or Profit to be had. *This Partiality ſhewed the Duke's Weakneſs, and was much unbecoming the Greatneſs of the King his Maſter, whoſe Honour ſhould ſhine upon the whole Body of his People, as the Sun ſheds his Influence, warming all Parts of the Earth.* And where Kings ſhew themſelves

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ſelves partial to a Party, they are uſually ſerved by the worſt of the People, and are often forced to protect the Bad againſt the Good, as we have often ſeen in our late Revolutions: Not that Subjects repine, that Princes ſhould have Friends with whom they may communicate their Thoughts, and unbend their Cares, not to ſee ſuch better'd by their Favours, which is warranted by the Example of the beſt of Kings, who muſt ſometimes recreate themſelves, and not be always upon their Thrones, which would too much weary them. Greatneſs muſt be ſet aſide ſometimes, the better to be reliſhed: But Subjects do behold with Indignation, Men to be exalted, who abuſe their Prince's Favours, and by falſe Repreſentations, traduce all others, that they may ingroſs the Prince to themſelves, without Regard to the King's Honour, when their particular Advantage or Safety is in Queſtion. Such Miniſters are generally hated, and the People commonly reach their Heads at laſt. Wiſe Princes ſhould never protect ſuch Miniſters; for when Princes bring Projectors into the Adminiſtration of their Affairs, who are Inventers of new Taxes, they bring an Odium upon their Maſter; and the Ignorance of ſuch Men brings more Neceſſities upon the Prince, than their Arts of raiſing Money can ſupply. None but wanting Princes employ ſuch Men, who ſometimes can ſkin over a Sore, which after breaks out with greater Rancour: Whereas wiſe Stateſmen would, by wholeſom Counſel, obviate the Danger in its Growth, and reſtrain their King's extravagant

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Bounty, before he hath nothing left to give: For the Bounty of a Prince often frights Men from meddling in their Affairs. I know, Liberality is counted the proper Virtue of a Prince, it being much better for him to be profuse, than avaritious, Prodigality having the Resemblance of something more noble, than Avarice, and really it is less odious; and they that gain by it, make it pass for a Virtue, but perhaps it is more prejudicial to Posterity, and no less dangerous than the other Extreme. For if a King give away his whole Kingdom, he cannot satisfy all that ask, no, nor all that think they deserve much from him. It is then more convenient to give with Reason, and never to draw so near the Bottom, but that Princes may always have wherewith to gratify Persons of Merit; and above all, they should take especial Care, that their Liberality be exercised without Oppression of their People, to avoid Murmuring, which may produce Rebellion. Wise Kings should never give, till their Coffers are full; for the Measures of Bounty ought to be taken from the Plenty of the Giver, as well as the Merit of the Receiver: And Kings seldom hurt themselves by giving what is actually in their Keeping, for Reward of particular Merit, but giving things they never had (as King *James* I. actually did to his Favourites) of which they know not the Value, is the Ruin of Princes Treasure, and consequently of their Affairs. For the Necessities of wanting Princes make them repeat Taxes, which loses them the Affection

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Affection of their Subjects; and Thrift hath ever been esteemed a Point of good Wisdom in Kings, who should stand firm against all particular Suits, so that no Case, upon what Grace soever, may break the Rule; for if one strong Sheep breaks the Hedge, a Hundred little ones will follow: And therefore the first thing a King should learn to say, is *No*, and that so resolutely, as never to be asked twice, nor once importunately: For one extravagant Gift to one, raises the Market to every Man else; and the unlimited Bounty of a wanting Prince, makes him a Beggar, tho' he have a vast Revenue: And that Prince, who will give more to Importunity than Merit, may as reasonably forbid his Subjects doing well, upon Penalty of being undone by it. Where Princes give, because they are importun'd, and where the less useful Part of the People have most Credit with their King, this shews, the Way to get every thing, is to be good for nothing; and tho' the servile Part of Mankind are apt to extol, not only generous Princes, but those that are profuse; yet if we consider the Story of the *Roman* Empire, we shall find their Decadence took its Rise principally from this profuse Temper, and that their Prodigality drove them to Want, and made them oppress, and become odious to their People, by their frequent Taxes. But we need not now make Laws against giving too much, Princes are not so free in this Age, and we want no Overseer of that kind, in our Court, at *St. Germaine*'s, where we live upon Alms.

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The good Emperor, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, in his Nature very bountiful, having given the People a larger Donative than uſual, was yet ſo frugal of the publick Money, that, upon an Expedition againſt the *Scythians*, he would not draw any Sum from the Treaſury, without firſt aſking Leave of the Senate, affirming that he had nothing in particular, and not ſo much as the Houſe he lived in. And being another Time preſſed by his Army, for a Donative, after a ſignal Victory, he refuſed it, ſaying, *The more I give the young Soldiers, the more I muſt oppreſs their Parents.* And therefore the *Romans* well anſwer'd one of their Emperors demanding double Taxes: *O Emperor, if thou wilt have double Taxes, we muſt have double Harveſts.* Kings are Fathers of their Country, but unleſs they keep their own Eſtates, they are ſuch Fathers as the Sons maintain, which is againſt the Order of Nature, and the leſs a Father depends upon his Children, the more he is certainly reſpected.

The Love of Subjects is not obtained by Money, but by wiſe Government, and good Conduct; and all People, even Soldiers, reverence their Prince more, who keeps ſomething in his Power to give, than he who gives all away; Expectation and Hope carrying Men farther than the Senſe of paſt or preſent Benefits, and good Princes deſire to make their People eaſy. King *Charles* I. of *England* never refuſed to eaſe his People of any Grievance, and paſſed more Acts of Grace for the Benefit of his Subjects, than any

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any five Kings or Queens had done before him. He granted an Act of Triennial Parliament, and the perpetuating of them, was an Act unparallel'd by any of his Predeceſſors: And good Subjects ſhould never think it juſt, that the King's Condition ſhould be worſe, by bettering theirs. But our good King counted himſelf undiminiſhed by his largeſt Conceſſions, thinking by them to gain the Love of his People, being perſwaded he could not grant too much, nor diſtruſt too little, to Men that being profeſſedly his Subjects, pretended ſingular Piety, and religious Strictneſs. But our King was much miſtaken, for no Fountain of Royal Bounty was able to ſatisfy their *Corban* of Religion: And it is ſure, had that good King yielded leſs, he had been oppoſed leſs; and had he denied more, he had been more obeyed. Princes ſhould therefore take Care of running with the Stream; for, chuſing a crooked Courſe, for fear of the Torrent, is not commonly very dangerous.

The Honour of a King conſiſts chiefly in doing good to the univerſal Body of his People, which good *Charles* aim'd at, there being nothing ſo glorious for a Prince, as to let his People enjoy Eaſe and Plenty, and not to enrich a few Perſons with the Spoils of a whole Country. *Henry* IV. of *France* ſaid, he hoped ſo to order Matters, that every Man in his Kingdom might have a boil'd Capon for his Dinner. Certainly, no Apothegm, ſo much by the Ancients commended, could ſo well become the Mouth

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of a great King, as this well-natur'd Saying; and it is probable, had he lived, he would have made good his Word, which would have been a more durable Triumph to his Fame, than all his great Victories; and his Example, who, by his Frugality, brought the Crown of *France* out of Debt, is to be preferred to that of *Henry* III. of *France*, who haraſſed his whole Kingdom, to build up four or five great Families, whereby he left behind him ſo many conſpicuous Monuments of his Folly and Weakneſs. And our King *James* I. followed the Meaſures of *Henry* III. in his moſt extravagant Bounties, which cauſed the then Lord Treaſurer to put upon a long Table, where the King was to paſs by that Morning, a large Sum of Money in Silver, which the King had given to one of his Favourites the Night before: The King being much ſurprized with the Sight, (having never ſeen ſo much Money before together) aſked the Treaſurer, who was behind him, what that Money was for? who ſaid, it was for ſuch a Perſon, naming him to whom the King had given it: To which the King preſently replied (with his uſual Oath) it was much more than any Man could deſerve from him, and commanded the Treaſurer to pay him only one Quarter of it. This made the King more careful of his future Bounties; tho' I may truly ſay, that this King (tho' to his own Prejudice) had more Compaſſion of other Mens Neceſſities, than of his own Coffers; for, in Liberality, he exceeded, by many Degrees, all the

Kings

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Kings that ever went before him: And it had been much better for King *Charles*, his Succeſſor, if his Liberality had not been ſo great; for by that means, he left his Succeſſor much indebted, which prov'd infinitely prejudicial both to the King and Kingdom.

Now, whoſoever hath read King *James*'s Works, will find therein moſt rational and politick Diſcourſes of the Nature of Government, and the good Temper of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, where there is no unnatural Swelling of Power, nor Liberty; for theſe two are like Heat and Moiſture, where they are well mix'd, every thing proſpers, but where they are ſingle, they are deſtructive; and our true lawful Government in *England* is like our Climate, where there are ſometimes unquiet loud Winds, which, tho' troubleſome, yet they clear the Air, and much of Mens Healths is owing to them. Abſolute Power is a Plant that will not grow upon *Engliſh* Ground; thoſe who have attempted to cultivate it in that Soil, have haſtned their own Ruine. All Men muſt confeſs, that King *James*'s Diſcourſes in Parliaments were admirable, but the practical Part was wanting; for his remiſs and looſe Government was a great Cauſe of our following Diſorders: For, finding no Money could be raiſed, to ſupply his Neceſſities, and extravagant Bounties, but by Parliament, he therefore ſtill careſſed them, thinking that Way to prevent the ill Humour, which lay in the Stomach of the Nation, which then began to ſhew it ſelf more publickly; and he

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would often say, he was but One King, that, in his House of Commons, were near Five Hundred; and whilst he liv'd in *Scotland*, his Prelbyterian Subjects so much teazed, and so often imprisoned him, that he had as good almost been one of the Kings of *Brentford*, as King of *Scotland*. However, this King, contented with those Dominions which he had by an undisputed Succession, coveted nothing more from his Neighbours, nor had other Thoughts or Wishes, besides those of the common Peace and Repose of Christendom, and had therefore a just Motto given to his Arms, *Beati Pacifici*. He had so much Cunning, that he still held well with his Parliaments, and desired to be beloved, rather than feared by them: For Power, without Love, hath a terrifying Aspect, and the Worship paid to it, is like that which the *Indians* give, out of Fear, to wild Beasts and Devils. And as he that fears God, only because he is Almighty, wishes there was no God; so he that fears the King, only because he can punish, wishes there was no King; and therefore a King cannot take too much Care to keep himself up: For if a King lets his People slip from him, he is no longer really their King, but the People may let a King fall, and still remain a People.

In this Conjuncture, after Twenty Two Years peaceably reigning in *England*, King *James* I. died, leaving his Son, then King *Charles*, his Successor, ingag'd in a War with *Spain*, by Advice of Parliament, without Supplies to support

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port it, and left his own Debts great, by his immoderate Bounty; to which a great Addition was made, upon King *Charles*'s coming first to the Crown, and many Inconveniencies were then submitted to, for Supply, contrary to former Laws; and Miscarriages in Government escaped in the Beginning of this King's Reign, which happened thro' the ill Counsel of some Men, driving on their own private Ends, and the Peevishness of some others, envying the Publick should be managed without them, join'd with the insuperable Necessities of State, rather than from any Propensity in the King, who was free from any Injuriousness, or Oppression of his People.

The Duke of *Buckingham* was at this time received into an admired Intimacy and Dearness by the King, and a Marriage was soon concluded with the Princess *Henrietta Maria* of *France*, and the Duke was sent thither to conduct her to the King. A little after this a Parliament was called, the House of Commons, upon their first Assembly, pressed for Redress of Grievances, and against Recusants, and they gave the King two Subsidies, which did not answer his Wants and Expectations, nor at all satisfy; and the King finding the Parliament more stiff than he expected, he soon dissolved them; that sowre Humour against Kingly Prerogative being then very predominant in the House of Commons; and the Duke, who, in the last Parliament of King *James*, was stiled, The Saviour of the People, in bringing Home the

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the then Prince of *Wales*, was now called, The Deſtroyer of the People, and more cry'd down, than he was before cry'd up, and was named, the Corrupter of the King, and principal Cauſe of all Diſorder, who had betrayed the Subjects Liberties, and his ill Management was made the Pretext for not aſſiſting the King in Parliament, as the State of the King's Affairs then required; who uſed all poſſible Means to ſatisfy a diſcontented People, but could not. The late Parliament, before their Diſſolution, declared, the King had ſent Ships into *France*, to aſſiſt the *French* King againſt his Proteſtant Subjects at *Rochel*, which was by the Duke's Intereſt, without acquainting the Council of State, which much exaſperated the People, who complain'd, that the Duke had not made the Match with *Spain*, out of a particular Spleen againſt the *Conde d'Olivares*, and had made it with *France*, upon much harder Terms.

The Duke being hereupon queſtioned in Parliament, made a plauſible Anſwer: However, the Houſe of Commons reſolved againſt any farther Supply (except the two Subſidies they had given) without Redreſs of Grievances. After the Diſſolution of this firſt Parliament, ſome proviſional Acts of State were made, to ſupply the Defects in Law, and a Proclamation was publiſhed againſt Catholicks, to give the People ſome Satisfaction, and a Fleet was ſent out by the Duke againſt *Cadiz*, but returned with ill Succeſs.

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In *February* following, a ſecond Parliament was called, and the King was ſoon after crowned. The Lord Keeper then made a Speech to the Parliament, declaring the King's Love to them, ſtriving whether he ſhould be a greater King, or a better Man; and that they were called to make good Laws, and execute Juſtice. The Houſe of Commons preſently fell upon Grievances, the Miſcarriage of the *Cadiz* Voyage, the Miſemployment of the King's Revenue, and reflected much upon the Duke, and ſeveral bold Speeches were made againſt him, and great Animoſities ſtill continued betwixt the Duke and the Earl of *Briſtol*. The King demands of the Parliament a preſent Supply, and deſired they would rather redreſs, than inquire into Grievances. The Houſe of Commons exhibited Articles againſt the Duke, deſiring he might have no more Acceſs to the King, and agreed upon a Remonſtrance againſt the Duke, and pray'd the King not to diſſolve them. The Duke being much tranſported with this Uſage, prevailed with the King to diſſolve them, and fell into ſuch Anger againſt ſome principal Members, that they were impriſoned or diſgraced ſoon after Diſſolution. From this time the People were generally apprehenſive of an arbitrary Government, and were much unſatisfied with the exceſſive Greatneſs of the Duke, who had a greater Aſcendant upon his new Maſter, the preſent King, than upon his Predeceſſor; which was much wondred at, that the ſame Perſon ſhould be the prime Favourite both to

Father

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Father and Son, which bred a great Diſtemper of Humours in the Court, which ſoon deſcended into the Country, and the Diſpleaſure to the Favourite ſoon ſeized their Duty to their Prince. Kings raiſe ſome Men ſo high, as to over-top All, and keep them under; but it is dangerous to beſtow too much upon one Man, for there is no Man fitting to be a King, but he that is a King; and when Kings are immoderate in beſtowing their Power, it many times brings much Woe to the People, much Danger to the Perſon in Power, and not ſeldom, much Sorrow to the King himſelf: And a wiſe Prince will not oblige his Courtiers, who are Birds of Prey, to diſoblige his Subjects, who are Beaſts of Burthen. It was indeed look'd upon as a rare Felicity, and ſeldom known, that the Duke ſhould be in greater Favour with the Son, than he was with the Father: For, the new King, from the Death of the old King, even to the Death of the Duke himſelf, diſcover'd the moſt entire Confidence, and even Friendſhip, to the Duke, that ever King ſhewed to any Subject; all Preferments were given by him; all his Friends and Kindred to that Degree in Honour, Riches, or Offices, as the Duke thought fit; all his Enemies diſcountenanced, as he appointed; But it was ſtrange, that he ſhould ſo ſuddenly fall, from the greateſt Heighth of popular Eſtimation, to the loweſt Depth of Calumny and Reproach, by perſwading the King to diſſolve Parliaments, which proved moſt pernicious to the Duke himſelf; for, in the firſt Parliament of

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of this King, tho' moſt of the ſame Perſons were choſen, who ſo paſſionately adhered to him before, the Affection they had then for him, even of the ſame Men, was turned into Animoſity againſt him, and that in ſo high a Nature, that all the Actions of his Life were ript up, Votes and Remonſtrances paſſed againſt him, as an Enemy to the Publick, and his ill managing of the King's Grace and Favour to him, made the Ground of their Refuſal to give the King that Supply which he expected, and was highly neceſſary for the King, in that Conjuncture. Here all the People's Diſcontents were laid upon the Duke, in reſpect of the mighty Share he had in his Majeſty's Favour and Affection, and that he managed his Power, to the Eclipſe of all other great Men, and moulded the Court to the Advantage principally of his own Family, thinking thereby to ſtrengthen himſelf (inſtead of endeavouring to mollify the Miſunderſtandings betwixt the King and his People, which was his true Intereſt:) But the Duke's Want of Experience, having never ſeen or felt the Reverſe of Fortune, made him too great an Enterprizer, to ſucceed in what he ſo unadviſedly undertook, and ſo precipitately, and for his own Satisfaction; and, upon his ſingle Diſcontent, firſt ran the late King into a War with *Spain*, which proved both fruitleſs and burthenſome to him. And thus the Throne was endanger'd by him, whoſe Obligation and true Intereſt it was to uphold it; and King *Charles* did not only ſucceed to his Royal Father's Crown,

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Crown, but Troubles, who was left involved in moſt ſtrange Intrigues and Difficulties, the Counſels of his Miniſters being not then conducted according to thoſe Rules and Meaſures of Policy, which the Circumſtances and Neceſſities of the King's Affairs required; which, if they had been well managed, had eaſily prevented the cruel Rebellion which afterwards followed.

Thus we ſee Princes cannot be ſecure, when leading Men in their own Courts fall into Faction; and when there is moſt need of Concord and Unity, Mens Minds are then moſt diſunited, and, contrary to ancient Prudence, when *England* wanted the beſt, the worſt Men were ſet at the Head of Buſineſs; and our then moſt unhappy King, was, by Diverſity of Counſels, drawn oftentimes from his own Judgment, (which was better than theirs) and was forced many times to court thoſe he hated, and to frown upon thoſe, whoſe Abilities and faithful Services to the Crown he ſecretly approved; which is uſually the Fate of ſuch Princes who are drawn into Streights, either by their Predeceſſors, or their own Negligence; and at this time the greateſt Part of the King's Counſel where wholly taken up in the Improvement of their own Fortunes, or Gratification of their Pleaſures, which they earneſtly affected, and had ſo much to do for themſelves, that they wholly neglected the King's Affairs, and thoſe which were moſt able, were frighted from meddling in them; and when thoſe Miniſters, whoſe Steadineſs of Judgment, and Directneſs

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of Application to their Maſter's and the Kingdom's Honour and Advantage, eſtrange themſelves from Court, it abates Mens Confidence in the ſucceſsful Courſe of Affairs.

The King being put to theſe Streights, Tonnage and Pondage were levied by Order from the Board, and likewiſe Loan Money and Benevolence taken; and the Duke finding the King ſomewhat unſatisfied with the *French* King, and that the Queen's Servants were ſending Home, his Grace ſoon changed the Scene, and cauſed the King to declare War againſt *France*, and went in Perſon to the Iſle of *Rhee*, to aſſiſt the *Rochellers* againſt their King; but he was there defeated, and this Repulſe was more unfortunate than that of *Cadiz*. But, in *March* following, another Parliament was call'd, and the King ſpake to them, to expedite Buſineſs, ſhewed them the common Danger, moved for a Supply, and told them plainly, if they did not do their Duty, he ſhould be obliged to uſe other Meaſures, which would not be ſo pleaſing to them: But however, the Houſe of Commons fell upon Grievances, before Supply, and after many Debates, and ſome Conferences, the Petition of Right was ſetled by Act of Parliament, and ſeveral other Acts paſſed, and then the Parliament was prorogued till *October*.

In this Interval the Duke reſolved upon a ſecond Attempt againſt *France*, and was preparing for it at *Portſmouth*, but was prevented by his ſudden Murder, which gave the King much Sorrow and Trouble: And as the Duke, during Life,

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Life, was unfortunate in publick Affairs, ſo his ſudden Death produced a Change in all Counſels; it being firſt generally agreed, that the King ſhould make a Peace with both Crowns, ſince the War could not be carried on without Supplies, and the Parliament was farther prorogued, till *January*, which was ill taken. And Kings of *England* will never do well, to fence with the Inclinations of their Parliaments, or Diſcontents of their People; they muſt ſhew they have no other Intereſts, but thoſe of their Subjects in general; for Partiality in a Prince produces Heart-Burnings, to ſee ſome few lifted up high, wallowing in Wealth and Pleaſures, while the People groan under heavy Taxes. A Government is never well eſtabliſh'd but in the Hearts of the Subjects, nor ſo hard to be ſhaken, as when the Generality of the People, as well as the Nobility, are intirely ſatisfied; which they will never be, till they ſee Men choſen into Offices, by being fit for them, and continued for diſcharging well, and rewarded for extraordinary Merit, and puniſhed for remarkable Faults. In ſuch Caſes, the King diſcharges the Severity of all Puniſhments upon the Parliament, and commits no Force upon the Gentleneſs of his own Nature, when his Subjects ſee, that no Tenderneſs of their Prince, nor Corruption of his Miniſters, can preſerve them from paying what they owe to any Forfeits of their Duty; nor indeed can any Prince do Juſtice to thoſe that ſerve him well, without puniſhing thoſe that

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ſerve him ill, ſince that is to make their Conditions equal, whoſe Deſerts are different. And therefore Kings ſhould not only conſent to, but encourage any Inquiries a Parliament ſhall make into the Miſcarriages of Miniſters, and join willingly with them therein: But whether, at that Time that the Parliament would have queſtioned the Duke of *Buckingham*, they did then proceed from a ſteady Intention of a general Good, or from ſome particular Animoſities againſt the Duke, or from ſome accidental Diſtempers, from which the greateſt and beſt Aſſemblies are not always free, is ſtill a great Queſtion; eſpecially when ſuch Aſſemblies have continued long together: For then they will ſpy out, and look after Miſcarriages and Grievances, rather than ſupply their lawful King and Sovereign. 'Tis certainly true, when Kings of *England* meet often with their Parliaments, and agree with them, they may command what they pleaſe: But if a King's Revenue be ſuch, as to enable him to live without his Parliament, he will be more free; for the Meeting and long Sitting of Parliaments is dangerous; for uſually, when publick Buſineſs is ended (nay, many times before they have ended it) they fall upon Grievances, and enter into Factions, to the great Prejudice of both King and Kingdom (as hath been often ſeen) and therefore *Poſning*'s Law was a good Proviſion againſt long Sitting of Parliaments. However, when Parliaments reſolve to go upon Grievances, Kings ſhould never interpoſe, to

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ſecure their Favourites from anſwering Crimes which are alledged againſt them in Parliament, as was intended againſt the Duke, before the Parliament was prorogued; for it lays an Imputation upon the Prince, as being privy to their Actions, and fixes alſo a Scandal upon the Perſon accuſed, that he is generally thought guilty of all things laid to his Charge. And this Courſe, which was taken in the Beginning of King *Charles*'s Government, of Proroguing and Diſſolving Parliaments, rendred the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Power more formidable, becauſe it was thought unlimited; and tho' he was eſteemed but as an Idol ſet up by King *James*, and was therefore more contemptible to the People; yet, at the ſame time, they thought the preſent King ſtood in Awe of him, and was afraid to pull down that Favourite, who was grown ſo formidable by his Power, and the Number of his Followers and Adherents; but ſuch top-heavy Buildings, which have no ſolid Foundation in them, of Merit, are ſoon blown down; and let bad Men have never ſo much ſeeming Greatneſs and Power, they are ſeldom dangerous to wiſe Princes, who will never hinder them from being brought to Puniſhment, by a timely Sacrifice; and no Man ever yet ſaw a Tumult to defend them. And if this great Favourite, the Duke, had not been ſo ſoon murdered, he had certainly been made a Victim to the Publick, by the Parliament. And when this Parliament met in *January*, they were very troubleſome, fell upon Grievances,

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ces, and made some Assaults against the Prerogative, and were preparing some Accusations against the Lord Treasurer *Weston:* And tho' the King sent the Black Rod for the Commons, to come to the House of Lords, they locked the Door of their House, and not only refused Entrance to the Black Rod, but forced the Speaker to his Chair, till they had adjourned the House to a Day, thinking thereby not to be dissolved before the Day of their Adjournment. However, the King went in Person to the House of Lords, without calling the Commons, and dissolved the Parliament, affirming, that some Vipers in the House of Commons, were the Cause of his dissolving them, and at the same time very much courted and commended the Lords; and, after this Dissolution, some of those Members who had carried themselves very insolently, were committed to several Prisons, and the King, to satisfy his People, published a Proclamation, shewing the Causes of dissolving those three Parliaments.

In the Year 1630, Prince *Charles* was born, at whose Birth great Rejoicing was thro' the whole Kingdom; and in 1633, the King went to *Scotland*, and was there Crowned with great Solemnity. At his Return, in 1634, Ship-Money was raised with great Care and Equality, by Letters written from the Privy-Council to every High-Sheriff; and tho' this Pill was gilded, it would not be swallowed, but great Discontents were express'd at an Imposition never before practised, and against Law: But yet this was

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done by the Advice and ſolemn Agreement of all the Judges, (except two, *Hatton* and *Crook*) who argued againſt it. However, they ſubſcribed for the King's doing it; neither did the Judges do ſo much in this, as was done in the Parliament of 31 *H.* VIII. when it was agreed, that the Legiſlative Power ſhould be in the King and his Council, in Intervals of Parliament; and that the King's Proclamation ſhould be of equal Force with an Act of Parliament: And this was thought fit by the Parliament, as being a dangerous thing, that the King ſhould be at Diſadvantage, for Want of Power, in Caſe of ſudden Exigencies. And therefore there was Reaſon, that the King ſhould ſteer with a ſhorter Rudder, that his Care might meet with every Turn of Providence, which might otherwiſe ſuddenly overturn the good Government of the Nation: And it was then alſo declared in Parliament, that if the Motions at home ſhould wait upon the Debates in Parliament, things muſt needs come ſhort in Execution, and the Affairs of the Nation extremely ſuffer. And tho' this was but a temporary Law, during the then preſent Condition of Affairs; yet, in the 34 and 35 of the ſame King, another Law was made to confirm what was done before, with a Power granted to the King and Council, to change and alter, as they ſhould think fit. And certainly the ſame Reaſon held as ſtrong, during the troubleſome and impetuous Reign of King *Charles*, tho' he thought not convenient to demand any ſuch Power. *The Opinion of the*

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the Judges was ſubſcribed in theſe Words following.

We are of Opinion, that when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in Danger, your Majeſty may by Writ, under the Great Seal of England, *command all your Subjects of this Kingdom, at their Charge, to provide and furniſh ſuch Number of Ships, with Men, Victuals, and Ammunition, and for ſuch Time as your Majeſty ſhall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the Kingdom, from ſuch Peril and Danger; and that, by the Law, your Majeſty may compel the doing hereof; and, in Caſe of Refuſal, or Refractorineſs, we are alſo of Opinion, that your Majeſty is the ſole Judge, both of the Danger, and when and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided.*

The King did nothing herein, but what he was adviſed to do by his Judges, who were always eſteemed the King's learned Council in the Law; and if any thing was amiſs in this Particular, the Adviſers were to anſwer for it, which they did, and ſome of them were ſufficiently puniſhed for it: But whether they were puniſhed deſervedly, or not, is yet a Queſtion. Soon after the King's Return from *Scotland*, Biſhop *Laud* ſucceeded Archbiſhop *Abbot* in the See of *Canterbury*, who being very powerful with the King, adviſed the Setling the Church Government in *Scotland*, as it was in *England*, that there might be an Uniformity of Church Diſcipline in both Kingdoms; and the King

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ſent

ſent down his Orders accordingly, with a new Service Book of Common-Prayer, with Command to be read in all the Churches: But malicious and deſigning Men, who deſire Innovations in State, do moſt commonly begin their firſt Attempt upon the Church, as was ſeen in *Scotland*, by their Commotions upon this Occaſion, when they were, at that time, by God's Mercy to us, and the King's Care over us, in perfect Peace with all the Nations upon Earth. The King, by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, his Commiſſioner, did all he could to quiet thoſe Troubles; yet nothing would do, for the *Scots* made a Covenant together, and declared never to renounce it, but prepared for War; and from thence ſprung the true Fountain of all our enſuing Miſeries in *England*. This kind of Preſbyterian Government, which was then eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, had found good Reception in ſome of the *Gallican* and *Belgian* Churches, and which *Beza* uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to plant in *England*: But wary Queen *Elizabeth* ſtood fix'd, and could not be brought to any Unſettlement of the ancient Diſcipline of Epiſcopacy: But in *Scotland* this new Form proſpered, by the Artifices of *Buchanan* and *Knox*, and during King *James*'s Minority, they threw down Biſhops, and ſetled Preſbytery, and uſed their King as they pleaſed.

About this Time, the ſhort Parliament of 1640 drew near; the King being then at *York*, was preparing to return to *London*. It was then conſidered, whether the Earl of *Strafford* ſhould

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ſhould ſtay with the Army, or go with the King to *London*. The Earl ſhewed many ſubſtantial Reaſons for his not going, and knowing how much the *Scots* were incenſed againſt him, and how great an Intereſt they would have in the Parliament: That, by his Abſence, he would not be ſo much in their Mind; and that if any thing ſhould be objected againſt him, he might the better avoid, and retire from any Danger, and be better able to do the King Service elſewhere, when the King's Occaſions ſhould require it (as he much feared they would;) but no Arguments could prevail, but the King continued earneſt for his going with him, and aſſured him in the Word of a King, if he ſhould be queſtioned, he would ſo defend him, that a Hair of his Head ſhould not be touched; and ſo the Earl reſolved to ſubmit to the King's Commands, tho' he foreſaw his own Deſtruction in it.

In *April* 1640, the Parliament met, when *Glanville* was choſen Speaker. A Meſſage was ſoon ſent by the King to the Houſe of Commons, for Supplies, ſhewing the intolerable Indignities and Injuries of the *Scots*, who had not only common Ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty upon that Nation, with his late royal Father, but had twice gratified the active Spirit among them ſo far, that he had preferred the Deſires of that Party before his own Intereſt or Honour; and his royal Bounty to them had emboldened them to aſk and act beyond all Bounds of Modeſty and Gratitude, which made the King more ſcandalized at their coming into

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England, contrary to his Will, and with the Forfeiture of ſo many Obligations of Duty to him. It is true, that when they firſt entered *England*, Succeſs crowned their Work, being thought a wiſe and reſolute Nation, who, after an unbloody War, for above one Year, returned laden with Spoils, and great Riches, and were moſt liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as coming into *England:* But God's Juſtice was in the End diſcovered through all their Pretentions of Religion, in which they wrapt up their wicked Deſigns, who built their Piety upon the Ruines of Loyalty, and made Bankrupt of their Allegiance, to ſet up a quicker Trade for Religion. Upon this Account, the King (as he had good Reaſon) was very angry with them, and declared, if the Houſe of Commons would aſſiſt him ſuitable to the Exigency of his Affairs, he would not only quit his Claim to Ship-Money, but would give them full Satisfaction in all their juſt Demands; which Meſſage was much approved by both Houſes, and many Conferences were held, whether the Supply, or the Subjects Grievances ſhould precede. The Lords voted for the firſt, but the Commons for the latter; however, the Difference was ſoon unhappily decided by a voluntary Miſtake in old Sir *Henry Vane*, then Secretary of State, who was ordered by the King and Council, to demand ſix Subſidies, and he demanded twelve; which was ſo highly unreaſonable, that many were much diſpleaſed, but all were inclined to have given ſix, which was no uſual Gift.

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Sir

Sir *Henry Vane* escaped not without great Censure, for demanding Double to his Commission; but it was really believed, this Mistake was purposely done, to raise the House to Animosities, which took Effect; for the House would not consent to what he demanded, but insisted upon their Grievances, which made the King so desperate, that he forthwith dissolved the Parliament. The Counsel given to dissolve them was generally disliked, because the Differences between the King and this Parliament might have been cemented by the Lords, and the *Scots* Troubles, by this Parliament, appeased, which grew wider by this Breach; and the Odium of this was laid upon Archbishop *Laud*, who was thought to be more busy in temporal Matters, than he ought; and being too full of Fire (tho' a just, good Man) his too much Zeal for the Church made him perswade the King to the Sitting of the Convocation (which ought not to have been done) after Dissolution of the Parliament. The King then caused a Guard to be set about *Westminster*, while the Convocation sat, who setled the Discipline of the Church, and would not alter the Government by Bishops, and they granted a Benevolence to the King, of Four Shillings in the Pound, for six Years, towards his Expedition against the *Scots*, wherein the Archbishop was very active. The *Scots* were at this time come into a warmer Climate than their own, and Petitioned the King for Redress of their Grievances, in several Articles. All good

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Men inveighed ſufficiently againſt them, whilſt others approved of their Proceedings. There was at this time a ſtrange Spirit of Diviſion in the Opinions of Men, of theſe Affairs; too many not only favouring, but joining with the *Scotch* Covenanters, who preſented their Demands, How their Army ſhould be maintained, till the Treaty was ended, and Peace ſecured; and ſo they had a great Allowance: But the King's beſt Subjects ſaid, the King ſhould rather have put All to the Iſſue of a Battle, than to give ſuch Terms to moſt rebellious Subjects. But the King ſaw plainly, that divers Officers of his own Army, and even the private Soldiers, had no Mind to fight againſt the *Scots*, which made the King conclude the Treaty with them. The Earl of *Montroſe*, who had great Alliances in *Scotland*, came then into *England*, to ſerve the King, but by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*'s Cunning, (who betrayed the King in all the *Scotch* Affairs) *Montroſe* was ſlighted and neglected, whereupon he went back to the Covenanters; but being ſoon weary of them, he wrote to the King, profeſſing his great Loyalty and Service to his Majeſty; which Letter was taken out of the King's Pocket at Night, by the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, and ſent to the Covenanters.

About this Time, a Reſolution was taken by the King and Council, to call another Parliament, the great Neceſſity of the King's Affairs then obliging him to it. The Court Party laboured much to bring in their Friends, but thoſe

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those that were most esteemed at Court, had least Respect and Interest in the Country; and it was not a little strange to see, what a Spirit of Opposition was in the Hearts of most Men, to the Court's Proceeding: So that very few of the King's Party were chosen Members of Parliament. And indeed the highest Danger in *England* comes from the Power of the People to elect their Representatives; for they will be such as are of their own Complexion, and which will stand by them in all their Designs against the Government, for clipping the Wings of Monarchy, and restraining the King's lawful Prerogative; which was the true Reason why the King broke so many Parliaments; but at last being wearied, and overborne, he was necessitated to give Way to their Meeting in 1641, which, by several Encroachments upon the Royal Prerogative, their long Sitting, and Success in their Rebellion, brought their lawful Sovereign at last to the Block, as will be seen in the Sequel of these *Memoirs*.

This Long Parliament was convened to meet *November* 3. 1641. a most ominous Day! for the Parliament met that Day, in 20 *H.* VIII. which began with the Fall of Cardinal *Wolsey*; and therefore Archbishop *Laud* was desired to get their Meeting adjourned for some Days: But the good Man took no Notice of those things. At their first Meeting, the King told them, he was resolved to put himself freely upon the Love and Affection of his Subjects, and left it intirely to them, where to begin, promi-

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promiſing them Redreſs of Grievances, and deſired that all Suſpicion of each other ſhould be laid aſide. The Houſe of Commons, after eſtabliſhing Committees, fell upon Grievances, and many ſharp Speeches were made upon that Subject. The King paſſed the Bill for the Triennial Parliament, and thereby declared his great Confidence in them, and the extraordinary Favour he did his Subjects, by paſſing that Bill. The Houſe of Commons fell preſently upon the Earl of *Strafford*, whom they accuſed of High Treaſon, and deſired he might be ſecured, which was done accordingly, and great Preparations made for his Trial in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before the Lords; and one of the ſharpeſt Managers of the Evidence againſt his Lordſhip, ſays, That *No Man ever acted a Part on ſuch a Theatre with more Wiſdom, Eloquence, and Conſtancy, and with greater Reaſon, Judgment and Temper, and with a better Grace*, than that great Lord and excellent Perſon did, ſo that he moved the Hearts of all his Auditors (ſome few excepted) to great Pity and Remorſe. His Lordſhip told them, it was hard that Puniſhment ſhould precede Promulgation of a Law; to be puniſhed by a Law ſubſequent to the Fact, was never heard of till that time; that there ſhould no Mark be ſet, by which the Offence might be known, no Admoniſhment given to avoid it, was a Caſe extreme hard. The King heard all the Tryal, and after went to the Houſe of Lords, and ſent for the Commons, and did paſſionately deſire the Parliament

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liament not to proceed ſeverely againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, aſſuring them in the Word of a Chriſtian, that he could not in Conſcience condemn him, and added, that neither Fear, nor any other Reſpect, ſhould make him go againſt his Conſcience. However, the Bill of Attainder paſſed both Houſes, and a Bill not to prorogue, adjourn, or diſſolve the Parliament, without Conſent of both Houſes. Thus, when Men ſeek to limit and confine the King to their Reaſon, they muſt needs have a ſecret Aim to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in his Power and Dominion: For good Men in Parliament will propoſe nothing to their King, nor expect any thing from their King, but what he will be as ready to give them, as they are to receive from him.

The King was much perplexed at the ſending to him theſe two Bills, and ſent for ſome of his Biſhops, and others of his intimate Counſellours, to have their Advice what Meaſures to take, who adviſed him to paſs the Bills: And the Earl of *Strafford* being informed of the King's great Perplexity, wrote to the King, deſiring him to paſs the Bill againſt him, ſaying, his Conſent would acquit the King before Almighty God. Whereupon the King paſſed the Bill, and ſent Mr. Secretary *Carleton*, to acquaint the Earl with it, who not believing, without ſome Aſtoniſhment, that the King would have paſſed the Bill, he roſe from his Chair, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, clapp'd his Hand upon his Breaſt, and ſaid with ſome

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Paſſion, *Put not your Truſt in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for there is no Truth in them*; which he had ſome Reaſon to ſay, becauſe the King had engaged him to come to *London*, contrary to his own Sentiment, and had faithfully aſſured him, in the Word of a King, that in Caſe he ſhould be attack'd in Parliament, he would ſo defend him, that a Hair of his Head ſhould not be touched. And now by this unexpected Meſſage, he had Notice given him of his Death, to which he really believed the King would never have conſented; which made him break out in that Expreſſion, with ſome more than ordinary Movement, believing his Letter to the King would have made him more firm in his Reſolution. Great Reflections were made upon the King's paſſing theſe two Bills, the one againſt his moſt faithful Servant, and the other againſt himſelf: The firſt took away the Life of that great Statesman, the other his own Life, both Bills being ſigned at the ſame Time, and with the ſame Pen. The King had great Remorſe for what he had done, and the next Day ſent a Letter to the Lords written with his own Hand, by the Prince of *Wales*, to intercede for the Earl's Life; but nothing would prevail, tho' it was confidently affirmed by ſome, that the Earl's Life was promiſed the King, to encourage him to paſs the Bill: But now the Lords would not conſent to his Majeſty's Deſire. And thus fell this noble Earl, who, for natural Parts and Abilities, for Improvement of Knowledge, by Experience in

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greateſt Affairs; for Wiſdom, Fidelity, Obedience, and Gallantry, left no Equal behind him. A little after this, to ſatisfy the King in ſomewhat, the Houſe of Commons granted an Act for Tonnage and Pondage, which the King took before as due by his Prerogative, but now as a Gift from his People.

The Parliament then adjourned till Winter, it being thought fit the King ſhould go into *Scotland*, the People there beginning to ſhew their Diſcontents more publickly, where the King being in Perſon might better redreſs their Grievances, as they call'd them. The King then granted every thing they deſired, without aſking any Queſtions, till they declared they had no more to aſk, the King having entirely fulfilled their Deſires, and (as the Phraſe then went) *He parted, a contented King, from a contented People.* For, from the Time of the King's coming among them, he had fully complied with all they deſired, both for the publick Government, and their private Advancements. The Kingdom of *Scotland*, within it ſelf, enjoyed perfect Peace and Tranquillity, and the King was confident, the Affections of the *Scots* could not be corrupted, believing they were ſenſible of their former Breach of Duty, and willing to repair it by any Service; and that their General, *Leſly*, had made great Acknowledgments and Profeſſions of Duty to his Majeſty, and would be always ready and willing to ſerve him. About the End of *November* this Year, the King returned well ſatisfied from *Scotland*, and was, upon

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upon his Arrival, moſt ſumptuouſly entertained by the City of *London*.

The King then went to the Parliament, and made a Speech to both Houſes, wherein he told them, he made as much Haſte to them, as his Affairs in *Scotland* permitted; and that he had left that Nation in a moſt peaceable and contented Condition: And yet he was no ſooner gone from them, but they ſubſcribed their Covenant, raiſed an Army againſt their lawful King, made *Leſly* their General, to join with their dear Brethren in *England*, who were then hatching a Rebellion againſt their King, who then told them in Parliament, That tho' he did not find *England* ſo well ſetled as he expected, (being full of Jealouſies, and Alarms of Deſigns and Plots) yet he doubted not of his Subjects good Affections, by his Reception at his Return: And added, That he was ſo far from repenting what he had done for them, that he was willing and ready to paſs any thing more, that might juſtly be deſired, for their Liberties, Properties, and Maintenance of their Religion; and deſired them not to be diſcontented at their own Happineſs, nor to be without Senſe of their natural Allegiance: And that having gotten the Opinion of being good Patriots for their Country, they ſhould not be inveigled into Steps of Diſloyalty, nor to uſe ſuch Meaſures as would diſturb the Throne. The King alſo recommended to them the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, where, it ſeems a Rebellion broke out, during his Abſence in *Scotland*; and the King offered

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to go thither in Perſon, to proſecute thoſe Rebels, but the Parliament would not agree to it. Now, he that governs three Kingdoms, compoſed of three ſeveral Nations, whoſe Religion, Manners, and Language are different, and whoſe Paſſions and Intereſts are contrary to each other, muſt keep a conſtant ſevere Hand over them: For, to think of governing them, as King *Charles* I. did, by a gentle and obliging Temper, was as impoſſible, as to think of putting ſix wild Horſes to a Coach, and to drive them without Whip or Reins. And whoever hath read the pious Meditations of King *Charles*, hath there found by his own Words, that he condeſcended againſt his own Judgment and Conſcience, to ſettle Preſbytery in *Scotland*; and it appeared ſoon after, how unhappy this King was, in his too kind and tender Condeſcenſions to the *Scots*, which occaſioned all thoſe Troubles he had in the North of *England*. The Preſbyterians called God to witneſs, that nothing was ſo dear to them, as the Honour and Safety of the King, and at the ſame time they conſpired againſt both. They ſeemed wonderfully ſollicitous for his Life and Safety, when they were complotting how to entrap him: They told us, their dear Liberties and Properties hung upon the Thread of the King's Life, and yet, at that Inſtant, they were reſolved to cut that Thread off. But the good Chriſtians of old did not uſe this Method; they prayed for their Princes and Governours, when moſt barbarouſly and unjuſtly provoked to the contrary;

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ſo that no Chriſtian died as a Rebel or Traytor, in all the early Perſecutions of Chriſtianity, for ſeveral Centuries. The Preſbyterians made it their Buſineſs, by their libellous Pamphlets, and other wicked Arts, not only to make the King's Government odious, his faithful Subjects ſuſpected, but alſo to excite a Hatred to his Royal Perſon; and made uſe of the Name of *Popery*, to carry on all their wicked Deſigns, being the common Engine they have always play'd againſt the Government. For it hath been obſerved, that the Prerogative never ſo ſuffered, no great Stateſman was ever diſgraced, nor the Liberties of the People ever wounded, but a dreadful Outcry of *Popery* hath ſtill preceded; and if any durſt ſhew his Fidelity to Monarchy, by oppoſing their Antimonarchical Projects, he was preſently blaſted with the Name of a *Court*, or a *Church Papiſt*: And when they could not undermine the Government by Fraud, they would overthrow it by main Force, and always had thoſe in great Eſtimation, who made the biggeſt Noiſe for Religion, and made no Scruple of involving three Kingdoms in Miſery and Confuſion. They ſtrained at Conformity, but ſwallowed down Rebellion; they ſtumbled at the Rails before the Altar, but leap'd over Dethroning their King, whom they murdered firſt in his Reputation, by calling him Tyrant, (whoſe Fault was only his Clemency) and then they murdered him in his Perſon.

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I remember well what *Josephus* says in his *Antiquities*, *Lib.* 17. *Cap.* 3. That the *Pharisees* were a bold Sect, that would swear Allegiance to *Cæsar*, but were inveterate Enemies to Kings, and would not stick to make Attempts upon their Lives: And the Difference betwixt those *Pharisees* and ours is, that they were *Jewish* Fanaticks, and ours are Christian *Jews*, which appears by their Principles, who say, the King holds not his Power *Jure Divino*, but is the People's Trustee, and to them accountable: A Doctrine which leads to the Destruction of all Kings. What our Blessed Saviour told his Disciples, that *the Times were coming, when they that killed them should think they did God good Service*, was seen about this Time, when Churches were pulled down for God's Glory, when Religion was called *Popery*, and Monarchy *Tyranny*; when Atheists would reform Religion, Bankrupts secure Property, and Army Officers guard Liberty: When the Property of Nobility and Gentry was held to be destructive of Liberty, and it was a dangerous thing for Men to have any Sense of their Duty and Allegiance. But alas! those that foment such Animosities and Divisions, do more Mischief to their Country, than foreign Enemies. No Fears of Arbitrary Government can justify, no Zeal for Religion can sanctify, such Proceedings. To live and die with their King, is the highest Profession a Subject can make, and he serves his Country best, who well serves his King. And truly I am perswaded, that many Men entred into

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our *Engliſh* Rebellion, who little thought of any ſuch thing, at their firſt ſetting out, but were eaſily drawn in, by entering into the Society of evil Men, and were not guilty of ſuch black Intentions, and were led away with the common Error and falſe Preſumptions, that nothing was at the Bottom, but to ſettle the true Intereſt of the Nation, and ſo fight for the King and Parliament together, which they thought was their Duty; but being once engaged, they went raſhly farther than they at firſt intended: But a true Chriſtian Zeal will not ſuffer us to tranſgreſs the ſtrict Bounds of our Duty, both to God and the King, whatever flattering Proſpect of Advantage it may give. *Omne in præcipiti vitium ſtetit:* When Men once eſpouſe an ill Party, like thoſe running down a Hill, they cannot ſtop when they will; and I really believe, that ſome Proſelytes were made, who at firſt abhorred the Thoughts of Treaſon and Rebellion, but were merely ſeduced by the Inſinuation and Addreſs of ſome buſy Factors for Sedition and Rebellion: And therefore wiſe Men ſhould take Care of liſtning to any Suſpicion of their Prince, and not to hear with Pleaſure any ſcandalous Reflections of him; for he that can with Content hear his King vilified, will ſoon think him not fit to be a King. And tho' we do not think at firſt to be turning Rebels, yet whatſoever is at firſt but a Tending towards it, proves ſo at laſt, there being more Danger, that the Beginnings of Vice ſhould corrupt us, than any Hope that a ſound Diſpo-

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ſition ſhould correct the Influence of ſuch a Vice.

At this Time a great Diffidence began betwixt the Court and the Country Party in Parliament, and the Diſadvantage lay altogether on the King's Side, who had then ſuch Counſellours as did not do their Duty; and ſo the Head and Members of our Monarchy entred into Diſtruſt of each other, which filled the Kingdom with Confuſions, Miſeries, and infinite Deſolations. The King had then no Counſellours about him, or at leaſt did not truſt them that had the leaſt Conſideration for his Honour, or Friendſhip for them that ſat at the Helm of Affairs; and the King had no Counſellours but thoſe that made falſe Steps: There was no honeſt Man that durſt ſpeak his Conſcience to the King, for fear of his Ruine, and thoſe that the King thought moſt true to him, betrayed him every Hour; and his very Whiſpers in his Bed-chamber were preſently conveyed to them againſt whom thoſe Whiſpers were: So that the King had very few to whom he could breathe his Plaints, that were not ſuborned againſt him, or averſe to his Opinions: And that King can never be a great Monarch, who hath not juſt and wiſe Counſellours, by whom he muſt inform his Reaſon, and guide his Actions, and uſe the Service and Induſtry of the beſt and wiſeſt Men.

It was about this Time that the Parliament avowed publickly that the Power was entirely in them, and that the King being ſever'd from

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them, had no Royal Power in him; and the House of Commons did then petition the King touching their Privileges, declaring the King ought to take no Notice of any Debate in either House of Parliament, but by Information from them, nor be displeased with any Debate, before it was presented to him; the Members of Parliament being the sole Judges of their own Errors, in Matters depending before them. Many Members thought the Petition was too rough, but the general Fate of things then drove that Way, to increase the Jealousy betwixt the King and his People; and the Parliament declared, they would not proceed in any Affairs, till they had a satisfactory Answer to their Petition. The King, before any Answer given, withdraws to *Hampton Court*, which increases the Discontents in Parliament, who sent a Committee to him at *Hampton Court*, to tell the King plainly, that the whole Frame of Government was out of Order, and a Remonstrance was prepared by the Parliament, very roughly penn'd, both for Matter and Expressions in it, wherein were mentioned all the Mistakes, Misfortunes, Illegalities, and Defaults of Government, with an Enumeration of all Grievances, and not one single Error in Government omitted, nor any passionate Exercise of Power, from the Death of King *James*, till that time; and that they had no Hopes of setling the Distractions of the Kingdom, by reason of the evil Counsellours, and malignant Party that were about the King. And when this

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Remonſtrance was read in the Houſe, ſome moderate Members did then proteſt againſt it, and were ſent to the *Tower* for it, but they were ſoon after releaſed. Soon after this, the King came again to *Whitehall*, and being informed, that ſome Members of Parliament had private Meetings and Correſpondence with the *Scots*, and countenanced the late Tumults, which came from the City to *Whitehall*, and which cauſed the King's Removal to *Hampton Court*: The King, upon this Information, gave a Warrant to ſeal up their Trunks, Studies, and Papers; upon which the Commons having Notice, paſſed ſeveral Votes againſt it, and juſtified their Members. Whereupon the King exhibited Articles againſt the five Members (which were named) for endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Government, and to deprive the King of his Regal Power. The King taking Notice, that the Houſe of Commons would defend their Members, went ſuddenly the next Morning, with his Guard of Penſioners, entered the Houſe of Commons, ſtept into the Speaker's Chair, and look'd round the Houſe for the Members, who having had Notice of the King's Coming, were gone; the King ſaid, he was ſorry for the Occaſion of his Coming thither, having ſent the Day before a Sergeant at Arms to apprehend ſome that were accuſed of High Treaſon, whereunto he expected Obedience (and not a Meſſage, as they had ſent him) and he ſaid, no King was ever more careful of their Privileges; but, that

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in Cases of High-Treason, no Person had a Privilege; and therefore commanded the Speaker to send them to him; who replied, that he had neither Eyes to see, nor Tongue to speak in that Place, but as the House should direct him: And so the King returned to *Whitehall*. This Action of the King's was look'd upon as a great Breach of their Privileges, and was judged extreamly prejudicial to the King, and much to his Enemies Advantage, and was thought very strange by those who had any Knowledge in publick Affairs, that the King was advised to so an intemperate an Action, and many Excuses were made for it, and said it was done by Womens Counsel, that the King should not suffer himself to be so baffled, which provoked him to it. Many of the King's Friends resented his going to the House, as a Motion rising rather from Passion than Reason, being not guided with such Discretion as the Touchiness of those Times required. Upon this the House of Commons frame a Declaration, That the King's Coming to the House in a warlike Manner, to the Terror of the Parliament, was a high Breach of their Privileges, and inconsistent with their Liberty, and that they could not sit safely without a Guard, for which they had been Suitors to the King, but could not obtain it. Upon this great Tumults were in the City, and at *Westminster*; and as the King went through the City, great Tumults flocked about his Coach, beseeching him to agree with his Parliament. The King being in Danger of these Tumults, was counselled

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settled to remove again to *Hampton Court*, which he did, and took with him the Queen, Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*; which was much wondred at by prudent Men, that the King should leave the Place of his Residence, which brought great Disadvantage upon himself and his Affairs. But the Fear of those with him, and his own Fears for them, occasioned by the Tumults, with the Hopes, that, by his Absence, the Heat of the Parliament might in some Measure abate, were alledged, to excuse his Majesty's Retiring. But, on the other Side, no Reason can be given for Rebellion, but Pretences; for where Monarchy is setled, as in *England*, the Respect due to it could not be violated, without being guilty of a kind of Sacrilege; it being not only a Resemblance of that Power which God hath given the King, but a Participation of that Power which none can resist, without the Breach of God's Command. But People, at this time, were willing to be led blindfold by their own Representatives, rather than be guided by their Prince; and a few subtle Heads in a House of Commons are dangerous, when they oppose the Royal Authority, and are backed by the Multitude. Some Men softly instill the Venom of their Principles, and bring about their Ends, by insinuating themselves into publick Affairs, and their Complaints sometimes seem plausible, that they may gain Proselytes to their Faction, who may not mean so ill as their Leaders do. For, with what plausible Pretences were many Thousands

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first engaged in the War against King *Charles I.* What more plausible, than to engage in a War for the Defence of King and Parliament! It is the Constitution of our Government, and we were happy, if we had well understood it, where our Laws are propounded by our selves in Parliament, and ratified by our Kings, which is our proper Freedom, as *Englishmen*, and from the due Execution of those Laws arises our Safety: But cunning and ambitious Men in the House of Commons, who framed the Platform of all our Miseries, fixed the odious Name of *Malignants* upon all those that adhered to the King, and the known Laws, and who would not run to the same Excess of Madness and Rebellion with them. And I well remember the time, when Parliament Soldiers plundered the Houses, and took away the Horses of honest Countrymen, who liv'd peaceably at Home, only because they were call'd Malignants, and that Name did warrant the Plunder. The Effects of these Complaints brought that Civil War upon us in 1641; and the Decoy to engage Men then was, to fight for King and Parliament, but the War ended in the Ruine of both, when Subjects bathed their Swords in the Blood of their King; a Murder committed by the Mockery of Justice, never to be forgotten, and yet never to be mentioned, without Horror and Detestation! 'Tis true, that Offences are given and taken in all Governments; Kings sit uneasy on their Thrones, where their People are tumultuous, and Religion is disgraced;

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ced; and God hath exercised our *English* Nation with a various Face of Afflictions in the last Age: Our Fears and Jealousies did even anticipate our Miseries, and we oftentimes brought real Miseries upon our selves, by hasting to prevent the fancied ones. But when cunning Men design against the Government they live under, 'tis plain they would be Governours themselves, and they murmur at Mercies, as *Israel* did at *Manna*; and their Hearts open and shut according to their own Rules, when they strain at Gnats, and swallow Camels, like the *Neopolitan* Shepherd, who going to his Confessor at *Easter*, nothing so much troubled his Conscience, as that he had tasted a little Cream the *Lent* before; but he had often robbed and murdered Passengers in the Mountains, which troubled not his Conscience, because his Father and Grandfather had followed that Trade before.

The Truth is, the Power of King *Charles* (after his strange Condescension, to let the Parliament sit as long as they pleased) was little more than imaginary. The Crown of *England* gives no proper Strength to them that wear it, if personal Force be not proportioned to their Station; which, if it reached as far as Prerogative, it would be a mighty Advantage, for then a Monarch might be sure; but as this unhappy King's Case stood, his Empire consisted chiefly in his Submission to other Mens Wills, which was, in a Manner, but reigning by Courtesy: And therefore the Affections of

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the People is generally the ſtrongeſt, but not the beſt Title, as we have often ſeen and felt in *England*, in the laſt and this Age. Wherefore, all Degrees of Inferiority ſhould be tenderly uſed; for, if they be trampled upon, they will certainly grow ſowre and ſtubborn, believing they have a Right to be always well uſed: And the leaſt Grievances ſuggeſt mutinous Thoughts in them, and they preſently run up their Pedigree to *Adam*, ſaying, *In the Beginning it was not ſo.* And thus the Houſe of Commons ſerved King *Charles*, being full of dutiful Affections and Expreſſions, and abounded with large Promiſes of what Demonſtrations of Duty they would ſhortly make him, in acknowledging his Royal Favour and Protection to be a great Bleſſing to them, and Preſervation of their Liberties and Privileges; when any of which were infringed, they were found humbly to appeal to his Juſtice for Redreſs, the Rights and Privileges of Parliament not being only their Birth-right and Inheritance, but of the whole Kingdom; one of which Privileges undoubtedly was, that the whole Right of the Revenue, upon the Book of Rates, was the People's, and proceeded only from his Subjects Gifts; and then they inflicted ſevere Penalties upon thoſe that ſhould preſume, for the future, to collect them, or to raiſe any Money, but as the Parliament ſhould grant and appoint: By which Means the King was expoſed to all the Dangers that might happen, either at Home or Abroad, and alſo deprived of the Poſſibility of

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ſupporting the Government it ſelf, and was thereby reduced to a more helpleſs Condition, than the meaneſt of his Subjects, by their unworthy Votes, and unwarrantable Proceedings. Thus the Houſe of Commons ſerved the King, and did then farther declare, that tho' the Power of the Militia was wholly in the King, yet the Power of the Money was ſolely in them; and that without the Power of the Money, to pay the Soldiers, the Power of the Militia could be of little Force: So that unleſs the King and the Houſe of Commons agreed, the Sword muſt be left in the Scabbard. They then alſo declared, That the King's Coming to the Houſe, and the Speech he made there, was a great Breach; and therefore deſired he would name the Perſons that adviſed and induced him to that Action, that they might be puniſhed, this being the only Way to procure a firm Confidence and Amity betwixt the King and his People.

In Anſwer to this, the King conjured them by all the Obligations of Love, Duty, and Obedience, to remove all their Doubts and Fears, and that doing ſo, he did not doubt but God would render him a Great and Glorious Prince, and them a free and happy People. But to all theſe Offers he had moſt unſuitable Returns; ſo that then the King perceived plainly, that the Houſe of Commons were by Degrees ſtealing ſo much Power into their own Hands, that they did not care what remained in his: For they had got the Art of impoſing upon

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upon the People's Understandings, against their own Reason, and perswaded them they were in Danger of Invasion, when the King was not only in Peace with all Christendom, but even those Princes that were in War desired his Assistance. And his Majesty was so moved with those odious Imputations (which had most pernicious Effects upon the Minds of his People) that he was forced to comply with many things contrary to his Judgment, to obviate greater Inconveniencies, which were likely to rise against him, by those false and scandalous Suggestions: And therefore he often answered their seditious and undutiful Expressions, with too much Gentleness and Condescension, thinking that Way to undeceive them, and thereby to restore them to their Understandings, before they could be awakened to their Duty due to their Sovereign, the King believing he was to stoop to all Arts and Means for that Purpose. But herein he was ill advised, and took false Measures; for tho' the Proceedings of the House of Commons, and the Tumults raised by them, were the highest Affront to his Majesty, yet the House of Peers was then in a tractable Temper, and with a little Patience might have been brought to blast all the Extravagancies of the House of Commons. But other Resolutions were then taken, which proved fatal to the King and Kingdom. It is true, the Votes, and Affronts of the House of Commons were great, and the Tumults also, but the House of Lords was then well disposed, and if managed by the King

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King with a little Patience, the Higher House had blasted all the Extravagancies of the Lower House, which, at that Time, were the Attempts of Persons in Despair, and the Strugglings of Men at the last Gasp: And if the King would have been only a Spectator of the Division between the two Houses, and so have encouraged the Lords, who were firm to the King, the Commons would have been brought within their due Limits; but the King thought, by his Gentleness and easy Carriage, to recover his Subjects to their Sobriety, before they would be apprehensive of their Duty, and by that Way undid all. The Truth is, the King's Passing the Bill against the Bishops, was a great Weakening of his Party, not only by losing so many Voices in the Lords House, but it much influenced those, (whose Minds were then in Suspense) to see Foundations shaken. Besides, they that knew well the King's Disposition, did believe nothing could have prevailed with him to pass so Antimonarchical an Act, and therefore could never after be sure the King would deny any thing that was importunately asked: And so either some withdrew themselves from those Consultations, that they might decline the Danger of Envy, by contradicting them, or else suffered themselves patiently to be carried on by the Stream, and to agree to any thing that was lustily attempted. But truly, I think nothing ought to discourage publick Spirits from contributing all they can to the Firmness of such Counsels, as they esteem most just and safe

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for the publick Good, and not to withdraw themſelves upon any Pretence. Certainly the King was here overperſwaded to agree with the Parliament in this Act againſt Biſhops, that ſo for the future he might be able to deny them nothing; and this Condeſcenſion of his Majeſty was very ſurprizing to the whole Kingdom, and much blamed by all, but only thoſe who had a Hand in perſwading the King to it.

It was then indeed a ſad Proſpect, to ſee the melancholy Condition the King was in, ſunk, in a few Days, from the Heighth of all Greatneſs, which made his Enemies before to fear him, to ſuch a Degree of Lowneſs, that his own Servants durſt hardly come near him. He then perceived (when it was too late) that his Granting more than ever Prince had done, had encouraged the People to aſk more than ever Subjects had demanded; and yet the King declared, if he knew the particular Grounds of his Subjects Fears, he would moſt gladly apply ſuitable Remedies, and deſired they would not, out of Apprehenſion of poſſible Dangers, throw his Majeſty and themſelves into real and preſent Inconveniencies; and that they would purſue ſuch Methods as might reſtore Felicity both to King and People. The King farther aſſured the Houſe of Commons, That he would ſatisfy all their juſt Demands, by retracting any thing he had done, which ſeemed but to intrench upon their Privileges, and hoped they would have the ſame Regard to his Honour and Reputation, with that of his Subjects: But whatſoever the King

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King ſaid or promiſed, ſignified little with the Parliament: For then both Houſes declared, they were the ſupreme Judicature of the Kingdom; and when they had declared what the Law of the Land was, to have it diſputed or contradicted, (tho' by the King's Command) was a Breach of Privilege, and not to be obeyed; which was to declare, in plain Terms, that a Vote of the two Houſes was obligatory to all without; (tho' againſt his Majeſty's Conſent) which Reſolve did abſolutely annull the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject, and let all ſober Men ſee, that the fatal Period of both was near an End, and that a Foundation was then laid for Anarchy, which ſoon followed.

But I muſt not forget to ſay, that a little before the War was declared, the Queen went with the Princeſs *Mary* her Daughter, to the Prince of *Orange* her Huſband, and was accompanied by the King to *Dover*, from whence the King returned to *Greenwich*, and ſent for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, to go with him towards *York*, where he was well received. The Parliament ſent after him the nineteen Propoſitions, which were treated on, and refuſed by the King. But I will not omit one Paſſage at *Greenwich*, before the King left it, which was ſomewhat ſtrange and ominous; which was thus. The King commanded his Statue to be carried from *Greenwich* Garden into the Magazine: In the Carriage of it, the Face being upwards, a Swallow, or ſome other

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Bird, flying over it, dunged in the Face of the King's Statue, which was wiped off immediately by those that carried it; but notwithstanding all Endeavours, it could not be gotten off, but turned into Blood. This Statue was made at *Rome*, by the famous Statuary Signor *Bernino*; and when the King's Picture was brought to him, by which he was to make the Statue, with positive Directions to conceal whose Picture it was, Signor *Bernino*, after having look'd sometime very stedfastly upon it, said, he had never seen any Picture, whose Face shewed so much Greatness, and withal such Marks of Sadness and Misfortune, which proved too true in all its Circumstances; for never any King kept greater State or Order in his Court, and was more majestick in keeping up his Dignity, till at last he was made a sad Spectacle both to Men and Angels, before his own Palace.

But, leaving this Digression, it is Time to tell you, that both Houses declared, the Kingly Prerogative, which was before lodged in the Crown, tho' with some Limitations, was now no more there, but in the two Houses of Parliament: Whereas, by the Constitution of the *English* Government, the King is singly Sovereign, and no Power on Earth co-ordinate with him: And as Almighty God is the absolute Sovereign of all Princes, so imperial Princes (as the Kings of *England* are esteemed) are absolute, next, and immediately under God, to whom alone they are accountable. And therefore those that set the Laws above the Maker

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of them, or subordinate Magistrates above the Fountain of the first Power, usurp upon the original Founder, and take upon them to remove the unchangeable Foundations of Power it self: For there is no longer any Government, where the Inferior incroaches upon the Superior, and confounds the Relations of Kings and Subjects, in that Anarchical Whimsey of imagining that Kings are to govern by Contract, and Subjects to obey accordingly: Whereas no Man can shew, that there ever was an Original Contract between former Kings and the People of *England*, besides that which was implied in the Constitution; and the very Supposition of one is repugnant to all our Laws, and expresly opposite to the Words and Sense of many of our Statutes; there being nothing more irreconcileable and contradictory, than a Contract by which our Kings are made judicially accountable to their People, or censurable for Miscarriages in their Government, when several Acts of Parliament do not only declare our Kings to be unaccountable, but make it High Treason to take up Arms against them, upon any Pretence whatsoever. And, to imagine it either lawful or practicable, to question and depose Kings, without a Liberty of taking up Arms against them, is a Contradiction that none will pretend to reconcile, who are not Lunatick, or deeply Hypochondriacal: And as for that Contract in our first Constitution, it only declares the Ends for which our Princes were to Rule, *viz.* The Safety, Peace, and

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Prosperity of their People, to teach and instruct them, that they were to govern by Laws; but it no way promises, that they should be accountable to their People, or arraigned by their Subjects, leaving them for that only responsible to God, and in no manner punishable, but by the Stings of their own Consciences: *For who can say to the King, what doest thou?*

About this Time the War was openly declared against the King, after his being refused Entrance into *Hull*; whereupon he went to *York*. The Earl of *Essex* was named General for the Parliament: The Earl of *Bedford* General of the Horse: The Lord *Kimbolton*, *Stapleton*, *Balfour*, and *Ramsey*, General Officers for the Parliament. Whereupon the King named the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord Chamberlain of *England*, to be his Lieutenant General, Prince *Rupert*, Cousin to the King, General of the Horse, Sir *Jacob Astley* Major General of the Foot, and Lord *Wilmot* Commissary General of the Horse.

Thus the War was began, and the King, by a very unhappy Accident, was obliged to declare before he was in any Condition for Action. The Occasion, This: Collonel *Goring*, Governour of *Portsmouth*, declared for the King, before the King was ready to march to his Succour. Upon some private Suspicion the Parliament had of *Goring*, he was sent for, and examined, and upon his Confession of some things relating to the Army, the Lords *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham* and *Pollard*, all three Members, were

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were expelled the Houſe of Commons, and ſent to ſeveral Priſons; but *Peircy* and *Jermyn*, who were alſo Members accuſed, eſcaped. This Confeſſion of *Goring* gave him a great Reputation with the Parliament, who ſent him back to his Government with Money to pay the Soldiers, and to take Care of his Government. By his great Dexterity, he perſwaded the King, that he was not only ſorry for the Fault he had committed, but that he would ſoon redeem it by ſome ſignal Service to the King; and he managed himſelf with ſuch Addreſs, that he received Three Thouſand Pounds from the Queen, to fortify the Garriſon, when it ſhould be neceſſary for him to declare for the King; and at the ſame time he received a great Supply from the Parliament, for Payment of the Garriſon, that it might be kept for their Service. Some time after, upon ſome new Information, he was ſent for again, and appeared in the Houſe, and juſtified himſelf with ſo much Innocence and Unaffectedneſs, that the Houſe of Commons, after an Apology for the Trouble they had given him, commanded him to return to his Government, and to take great Care for the Safety of the Place, which was of much Importance to them, and conſented to all he propoſed in behalf of the Garriſon. In the mean time, he aſſured his Majeſty, (by thoſe that were employed between them) that in a ſhort time he ſhould be in a Condition to declare for the King, when the King ſhould require it; but by the Sequel, we ſhall find he was obliged to do it, much

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sooner than he was prepared for it, tho' no sooner than he had Reason to expect it. It seems, when the Lord *Kimbolton* received his Commission to be Lieutenant General of the Horse for the Parliament, *Goring* was appointed to be his Major-General; But *Goring* wrote to his Lordship, desiring he might be excused for his Attendance upon the Army, till it was ready to march, that he might be present in his Garrison, till some Fortifications were perfected, that were necessary for that important Place: Upon which the Lord *Kimbolton* prevailed with the Earl of *Essex*, that *Goring* should not be sent for, till they were ready to enter upon Action; and, at last, upon several Instances from the Lord *Kimbolton* to General *Goring*, to come away, after several Excuses, he told him, he was advised by Counsel, that it was dangerous to leave the Place without the King's Leave, having received the Command of that Place from him. Hereby the King received a considerable Reputation, that so important a Place as *Portsmouth*, with so considerable an Officer as Collonel *Goring*, had declared for him: But his declaring, before the King was ready, or the Garrison in Condition to sustain a Siege, was the Cause of the King's Resolution of setting up his Standard; and the Loss of *Portsmouth*, which soon happened, gave a great Disorder to the King's Affairs; For the Parliament sent forthwith to besiege it, and *Goring* was obliged to surrender it, upon very good Articles for himself, going into *France* with the Money he had

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had received on both Sides, without making good his Promiſe to either. But this his Carriage was much reſented by all the King's Friends, and more particularly by thoſe who were expelled the Houſe. If his Conſcience and Integrity had equalled his Wit and Courage, he had been one of the moſt eminent Men of the Age he lived in: But he could not reſiſt Temptations, and was a Man without Scruple, and loved no Man ſo well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him, as he did at the Lord *Kimbolton*; and of all his Qualifications (which were many) Diſſimulation was his Maſter-piece, in which he ſo much excelled, with his great Dexterity, ſeeming Modeſty and Unaffectedneſs, that in this Concern, of *Portſmouth*, he cozened the Houſe of Commons twice, where were many Perſons not eaſily to be deceived; neither were they aſhamed to be cozened twice by him, who was ſo perfect a Maſter in that Art of Deceiving.

Upon this Incident, the King publiſhed a Declaration, wherein all the inſolent and rebellious Actions of both Houſes were recited, forbidding all his Subjects from paying any Obedience to them, and requiring all that could bear Arms, to be preſent to ſerve him at *Nottingham*, the 24th of *Auguſt* following, on which Day he intended to ſet up his Royal Standard, where all his good Subjects were obliged to attend. Many thought his Majeſty had better have ſet it up at *York*: But the Inclination the King had to be near *London*, and his

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Hopes of great Effects from *Portſmouth*, (which proved vain) made him prefer *Notingham*; and the Earl of *Cumberland* was left Commander in Chief of *Yorkſhire*, aſſiſted with Sir *Thomas Glemham*. Moſt Perſons in *Yorkſhire* were very faithful to the King, except the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, who were to be made Priſoners; the Seizing of them had probably prevented the Miſchief which ſoon after broke out in thoſe Parts; but the King (being always ill ill adviſed) could not admit they ſhould be made Priſoners. The King came to *Nottingham* ſome Days before his Standard was ſet up, and hearing ſome Regiments, by Order from the Earl of *Eſſex*, were marching to *Coventry*, the King haſtened thither with ſome Troops of Horſe well armed, and got thither the Day before the Parliament's Forces. However, the Gates were ſhut againſt him, and ſome of his Servants kill'd from the Walls. The King had no Remedy for this Affront, but lodged that Night at *Stonely Abbey*, at Sir *Thomas Lee*'s. The next Day the King's Body of Horſe, being near the Enemy at *Southam*, who were not above Twelve Hundred Foot, with one Troop of Horſe, in a free Campagne, yet they retired without being charged. Commiſſary *Wilmot* then commanded the King's Horſe, and ſeveral Reflections were made upon his not charging them. About this time I was with the Earl of *Northampton* at *Warwick*, having left *Coventry* ſome Months before, where I reſided with my Father, being then very young, and went with two Horſes,

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and one of his Men, to the Earl of *Northampton*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Warwickſhire*, with whom I was when he firſt put the Commiſſion of Array in Execution at *Coleſhill*, eight Miles from *Coventry* towards *Bermingham*. From thence we went to *Warwick*, in Hopes to have ſurprized that Caſtle; but Sir *Edward Peito* was gotten into it before, and had Orders to keep it for the Lord *Brook*, whoſe Caſtle it was, and his Lordſhip was then employed by the Parliament, to ſettle the Militia in *Warwickſhire*. The Caſtle was ſtrong, and well ſcituated, the River *Avon* running by it. Our Endeavours for taking it, were to little Purpoſe, for we had only two ſmall Pieces of Cannon, which were brought from *Compton Houſe*, belonging to the Earl of *Northampton*, and thoſe were drawn up to the Top of the Church Steeple, and were diſcharged at the Caſtle, to which they could do no Hurt, but only frighted them within the Caſtle, who ſhot into the Street, and killed ſeveral of our Men. The King (as I ſaid before) being repulſed from *Coventry*, haſtened back towards *Nottingham*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* drawing near us with his Army, being then at *Southam*, my Lord of *Northampton*, with his Troop of Gentlemen, which were numerous, marched towards *Worceſter*, where we met Prince *Rupert* with ſome Troops of Horſe, with whom we joined, and drew up in the Fields, not far from *Powych* Bridge, upon the *Severn*, where we ſtood very quietly for ſome time, being informed that the Earl of *Eſſex* was marching after us. We had not

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not been long in this Posture, before some Troops of Horse, commanded by Collonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who lay on the other Side *Powych* Bridge, expecting to meet the Vanguard of *Essex*'s Army, passed the Bridge, and having passed the Defiles, he drew up his Troops not far from ours, which the Prince gave him Time to do; but then the Prince charged and routed them, and sent them back over the Bridge, in great Confusion and Disorder. In this Action we took several Prisoners, amongst whom was one Collonel *Sandys*, who was mortally wounded, and died some Hours after. Major *Douglass*, and several others, were killed upon the Place. This was the first Action I was ever in, and being upon an unruly Horse, he ran away with me amongst the Enemy, while we pursued them to the Bridge, in which Hurly I lost my Hat; but my Horse's Courage being somewhat abated, I stopp'd him before we came to the Bridge, and so returned with our own Troops. We retired that Evening into the City of *Worcester*, where being refreshed, we marched that Night towards *Ludlow*, where we stayed some time; and from thence we went to *Shrewsbury*, where we stay'd till the King came thither with his Army, which much increased in those Quarters, by several Regiments newly raised in those Parts for the King. The next Day after our leaving *Worcester*, the Earl of *Essex* came thither with his Army, and made that City his Head Quarters for some time. The King stay'd at *Shrewsbury* till his Army was well recruited,

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and then Reſolutions were taken to march towards *London*, in Hopes to get thither before the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was then, with the Parliament Army, about *Worceſter* and *Warwick*.

While the King ſtay'd about *Shrewsbury*, his Army was modelled into ſeveral Regiments of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, which, in all, made a conſiderable Body: The Horſe were put into ſeveral Brigades, the Foot into Tertia's (as they were then called) and we had Three or Four Regiments of Dragoons: Our chief Want was Arms; for moſt of the Regiments, which were raiſed in *Wales*, were very ill armed. However, they were brave and reſolute to ſerve their King, with ſuch Arms as they had, or could get in their March, and our Army increaſed daily, by many coming to us from all Parts, as we marched. From *Shrewsbury* we marched thro' Part of *Staffordſhire* and *Warwickſhire*: I was then with the Earl of *Northampton*, in his own Troop, which conſiſted of One Hundred Gentlemen of Quality. The Lord *Compton*, eldeſt Son to the Earl, was the Right-hand Man; Sir *Charles Compton*, his ſecond Son, was Cornet; and Mr. *Arden*, a Gentleman of one of the moſt ancient Families in *Warwickſhire*, was Lieutenant to the Earl. We were then put into the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment of Horſe, which conſiſted of ſix gallant Troops, beſides the Servants: The Prince of *Wales*'s own Troop commanded by Sir *Thomas Byron*, who was Collonel of the Regiment, with Sir *Thomas Daniel* Lieutenant, and Mr. *Mettham*

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of *Yorkſhire*, Cornet: The Duke of *York*'s Troop, commanded by the Lord *Aubigny*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*: The Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Troop, commanded by his Brother Collonel *Cavendiſh*: The Earl of *Lindſey*'s Troop, commanded by his Son the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*: The Earls of *Northampton* and *Weſtmoreland* commanded each their own Troop; and all the Servants of the whole Regiment were put into one Troop, commanded by Captain *Daviſon*, an old experienced Low-Country Soldier, who was recommended for that Employ, by the old Earl of *Northampton*.

We marched thro' a great Part of *Warwickſhire*, and came under *Wormington* Hills, on *Saturday* in the Evening, the Twenty Second Day of *October*, 1642. The King lodged that Night, at Sir *William Chancie*'s, at *Ratott* Bridge, and Prince *Rupert* at the Lord *Spencer*'s, at *Wormleighton*. The Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment, in which we were, was quartered in two or three Villages under *Wormington* Hills, When it was dark, we ſaw ſeveral Fires not far from us, and ſending out a Party to ſee, we were ſoon informed, that the Earl of *Eſſex* was there with his whole Army, and quartered at *Keinton*, a Market-Town. Whereupon our whole Regiment drew into the Fields, and had Proviſions brought us from the Villages, and we forthwith gave Notice to the King and Prince *Rupert*, and ſoon after we received Orders to be upon our Guard all Night, and to be the next

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next Morning by Eight, at the Rendezvous upon *Wormington* Hills. The King, with the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *York*, came soon after, and Prince *Rupert*, who called a general Council of War, where it was debated, whether to march towards *London*, or to march back, and fight the Enemy, whom we saw from the Hill, embattelling their Army in the Bottom near *Keinton*. To march from them was thought dishonourable, as if we feared them, and they would be sure to follow, and give us continual Trouble in our March, when we should not, perhaps, find so good Occasion to fight them; and so it was resolved, that we should go down the Hill and attack them. Whereupon great Preparations were made, and Precautions taken, for descending the Hill, which was very steep and long, and had been impracticable, if the Enemy had drawn nearer to the Bottom of it; but we saw by the Ranging their Army, that they intended to stay there for us, having a good Market Town by them, and not far from *Warwick*. In the first Place, it was resolved, that Collonel *Washington*, with his Regiment of Dragoons, should descend the Hill, and possess some Inclosures and Briars on the right Hand of our Army, and a forlorn Hope of Six Hundred Horse were ordered likewise to descend before the Army, and the Carriage Horses of the Cannon were put behind the Carriages, excepting a Horse or two before, and the Foot were ordered to descend as well as they could. The King was that Day in a black Velvet Coat lin'd with

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with Ermin, and a Steel Cap covered with Velvet. He rode to every Brigade of Horse, and to all the Tertia's of Foot, to encourage them to their Duty, being accompanied by the great Officers of the Army: His Majesty spoke to them with great Courage and Chearfulness, which caused Huzza's thro' the whole Army. I take the Liberty here to remember one Passage which was remarkable. It seems, that very Morning, before the Army descended the Hill, the Duke of *Lenox* (being returned from his Travels) waited then upon the King, by whom his Grace was very well received and caressed. He brought with him one Mr. *Scroop*, who had accompanied him. After this Gentleman had kissed the King's Hand, as also that of the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Lenox* told the King, that the Gentleman's Father was Sir *Gervase Scroop*, who had a good Estate, had raised a Foot Regiment in *Lincolnshire*, to serve his Majesty, and was then in the Army, but very angry with his Son, and would not see him, or be reconciled to him, because he went with the Duke of *Lenox*, without his Father's Consent, and had spent much more Money than he allowed him. The Duke of *Lenox* therefore prayed the King to make them Friends. Whereupon the King sent for the Father, and told him, it was his Pleasure he should be reconciled to his Son, who being then present, demanded upon his Knees his Father's Blessing; whereupon the Father gave it him, and said thus to his Son: *I am now*

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now going down the Hill to ſerve the King, and if I be killed, I have left you, my Son, enough to ſpend: And the Son preſently anſwered; *And if I be killed, I ſhall leave you enough to pay for me.* And ſo the Father and Son went down the Hill together; and it ſo happened, that the Son ſaved his Father's Life, who having received many Wounds, was ſtript, and left for dead, and was brought off the next Morning by his Son, in one of the King's Coaches, who lived ſome Years after, always very kind to his Son, and left him a very good Eſtate. I have preſumed to add this Particular, becauſe I have had great Obligations to that Family; and upon King *Charles* II.'s Reſtoration, he was made Knight of the *Bath*, by the Name of Sir *Adrian Scroop:* And I was then one of the Gentlemen that brought him to the King, when his Majeſty put the Red Ribband about him. But, leaving this Digreſſion, let us turn again to the King's Army, which, about Ten in the Morning, began to deſcend the Hill, the Foot getting down ſeveral Ways which the Horſe could not do, by reaſon of the Hill's Steepneſs. When the whole Army was down, and drawn into Order, the King deſired the Earl of *Lindſey*, who was his Lieutenant General, that he would permit General *Ruthen*, an old *Scotch* Officer, and who had long ſerved under *Guſtavus Adolphus*, the late King of *Sweden*, and had been a Lieutenant General in his Army, to draw up his Majeſty's Army that Day, and to command it, being an old experienced Gene-

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General; to which the Earl of *Lindsey* (being wholly made of Obedience) willingly complied, and said he would serve the King that Day, as Collonel of the King's Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, which he did, accompanied by his Son, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*. The Enemy had all the Morning to draw up their Army, in a great plain Field, which they did to their best Advantage, by putting several Bodies of Foot with Retrenchments and Cannon before them, and all their Foot were lined with Horse behind them, with Intervals betwixt each Body, for their Horse to enter, if need required; and upon their right Wing were some Briars covered with Dragoons, and a little behind, on their left Wing, was the Town of *Keinton*, which supplied them with Provisions, and where their Baggage and Carriages were.

Our whole Army was drawn up in a Body, the Horse Three deep in each Wing, and the Foot in the Center Six deep. The Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment was on the right Wing, which was commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and Collonel *Washington* was with his Dragoons upon our Right. In the Center was the Infantry, commanded in chief by General *Ruthen*, and under him, by Sir *Jacob Astley*. The Earl of *Lindsey* marched on Foot, in the Head of the Regiment of the Royal Foot Guards, with his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmond Verney* carried the Royal Standard. The left Wing of our Horse was commanded by Commissary General *Wilmot*, with Collonel *Fielding*

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and ſome other principal Officers; and Collonel *George Liſle*, with Lieutenant Collonel *Ennis*, were in the left Wing, with a Regiment of Dragoons, to defend the Briars on that Side, and we had a Body of Reſerve, of Six Hundred Horſe, commanded by the Earl of *Carnarvon*. When our Army was drawn up at the Foot of the Hill, and ready to march, all the Generals went to the King (who intended to march with the Army) and deſired he would retire to a riſing Ground, ſome Diſtance from thence, on the Right, with the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York* (having his Guard of Penſioners on Horſeback with him) from whence he might ſee the Iſſue of the Battle, and be out of Danger; and that otherwiſe the Army would not advance towards the Enemy: To which the King (very unwillingly) was at laſt perſwaded.

Juſt before we began our March, Prince *Rupert* paſſed from one Wing to the other, giving poſitive Orders to the Horſe, to march as cloſe as was poſſible, keeping their Ranks with Sword in Hand, to receive the Enemy's Shot, without firing either Carbin or Piſtol, till we broke in amongſt the Enemy, and then to make uſe of our Fire-Arms as need ſhould require; which Order was punctually obſerved. The Enemy ſtayed to receive us, in the ſame Poſture as was formerly declared; and when we came within Cannon Shot of the Enemy, they diſcharged at us three Pieces of Cannon from their left Wing, commanded by Sir *James Ramſey*; which Cannon mounted over our Troops, without doing any Hurt, except that their ſe-

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cond Shot killed a Quarter-Master in the Rear of the Duke of *York*'s Troop. We ſoon after engaged each other, and our Dragoons on our Right beat the Enemy from the Briars, and Prince *Rupert* led on our right Wing ſo furiouſly, that, after a ſmall Reſiſtance, we forced their left Wing, and were Maſters of their Cannon; and the Prince being extreamly eager of this Advantage (which he better knew how to take, than to keep) was not content with their Cannon, and keeping their Ground, but eagerly purſued the Enemy, who fled on the other Side of *Keinton* towards *Warwick*: And we of the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment, (who were all ſcattered) purſued alſo, till we met with two Foot Regiments of *Hambden* and *Hollis*, and with a Regiment of Horſe coming from *Warwick* to their Army, which made us haſten as faſt back as we had purſued. In this Purſuit I was wounded in the Head by a Perſon who turned upon me, and ſtruck me with his Pole-axe, and was ſeconding his Blow, when Sir *Thomas Byron* being near, he ſhot him dead with his Piſtol, by which Means I came back. In fine, by meeting theſe three Regiments, we were obliged to return back to our Army, and then found our great Error, in leaving our Foot naked, who were rudely handled by the Enemy's Horſe and Foot together, in our Abſence, who fell principally upon the King's Royal Regiment of Foot Guards, who loſt Eleven of Thirteen Colours, the King's Standard-Brearer, Sir *Edmond Verney*, killed, and the Royal Standard taken,

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taken, which was presently retaken by Captain *John Smith*, who was Knighted for it that Night by the King, under the Standard Royal, and made a Baronet with the usual Ceremonies; and had afterwards a large Medal of Gold given him, with the King's Picture on the one Side, and the Banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying Day, in a large green watered Ribband, cross his Shoulders. He was afterwards killed at the Battle of *Alresford* in *Hampshire*, in the Year 1644, which was called *Cheriton* Fight, with the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and several others. Sir *Robert Walsh*, an *Irishman*, who also pretended that he was very instrumental in regaining the Standard, did also in the same Manner wear a green Ribband with a Medal; but whether it was given him by Order, or how he came by it, I do not know, tho' I have often seen him wear it. In this Battle of *Edgehill* (as it was always called) during our Pursuit of the Enemy, the Earl of *Lindsey* was mortally wounded, and taken Prisoner, with his Son the Lord *Willoughby*, who killed the Man that wounded his Father, who died in the Earl of *Essex*'s Coach, as he was carrying to *Warwick*. Now, when we returned from following the Enemy, the Night came soon upon us, whereas, in all Probability, we had gained the Victory, and made an End of the War, if we had only kept our Ground, after we had beaten the Enemy, and not left our Foot naked to their Horse and Foot: And,

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to add to our Misfortune, a careleſs Soldier, in fetching Powder (where a Magazin was) clapt his Hand careleſsly into a Barrel of Powder, with his Match lighted betwixt his Fingers, whereby much Powder was blown up, and many kill'd. The Night then ſoon parted both Armies, and both Sides pretended to the Victory; but ſince we retired up the Hill, from whence we came down, and left the *Champ de Battaile* to the Enemy, I think we had no great Reaſon to brag of a Victory: For the King, with a great Part of the Army, marched that Night up to *Wormington* Hills, it being a hard Froſt, and very cold. But that which made us think we had the Victory, was, that whereas the Earl of *Eſſex* was commanded to hinder our getting to *London* before him, by this Battle we were neareſt *London*, and might have been there much before the Earl of *Eſſex*, if we had taken right Meaſures: So that it may be ſaid of this Battle, *Victus uterque fuit, Victor uterque fuit.* There is always great Difference in Relation of Battles, which is uſually according to the Intereſt of the Relators; when it is certain, that, in a Battle, the next Man can hardly make a true Relation of the Actions of him that is next him; for, in ſuch a Hurry and Smoke as in a ſet Field, a Man takes Notice of nothing but what relates to his own Safety: So that no Man give a clear Account of particular Paſſages.

On *Monday* Morning, being next after the Battle, ſeveral Parties were ſent down to view the

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the Dead, the greateſt Part of the Enemy having retired in the Night to the Town of *Keinton*, which was near them; and Mr. *Adrian Scroop* having ſeen his Father fall (being much wounded) deſired the Duke of *Lenox* to ſpeak to the King, that one of his Coaches might go with him, to bring up his Father's Body; which being granted, he found his Father ſtript, with ſeveral very dangerous Wounds, and that he was alive: Whereupon he lapt him up in his Cloak, and brought him in the Coach, where he was preſently dreſſed by the King's Chirurgeons, and by their Care and Skill was cured, and lived many Years after, tho' he had ſeventeen Wounds, and had died upon the Place, but that the Coldneſs of the Weather ſtopp'd the Bleeding of his Wounds, which ſaved alſo ſeveral other Mens Lives that were wounded. We reſted all *Monday* upon the Hill, to put our Army in Order; and ſeeing the Enemy (as we thought) were preparing to retire, Prince *Rupert* was reſolved, that *Monday* Night, to go down the Hill, at a Place called *Sun-Riſing*, a Mile on our left Hand, and to fall upon the Enemy in their Retreat; and on *Tueſday* Morning very early, the Prince, with a ſtrong Detatchment of Horſe and Dragoons, fell into *Keinton*, where he found all Houſes full of wounded and ſick Men, with divers Officers, and ſeveral Waggons loaded with Muſkets and Pikes, and all Sorts of Ammunition, preparing to follow the Army, which was marched towards *Warwick*. Theſe Arms were extreamly wanting in

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our Army, and were a very good Supply for ſome Hundreds of *Welchmen* were ſo brave, that they had no Arms but Pitchforks, and ſuch like Tools, and many only with good Cudgels; yet they went down the Hill as eagerly to fight, as the beſt armed Men among them. And indeed moſt of the Gentry in North *Wales* moſt willingly ingaged for the King, and raiſed what Men they poſſibly could for his Service, while the King ſtayed in *Shropſhire*; and the Gentry of that Country did in a moſt particular Manner ſhew their Zeal for his Majeſty's Service, there being ſcarce a Family of any Conſideration, in any of thoſe Counties, that was not ingaged for the King; as the *Salisburies*, the *Moſtyns*, the *Trevors*, the *Thelwells*, and ſeveral others whoſe Families I have forgotten: But this I certainly knew, that none ſerved the King with greater Loyalty and Affection, than all the Gentry of North *Wales*, wherein the Family of *Bulkeley* muſt not be forgotten, who were always very eminent for the King's Service.

After this Battle of *Edgehill*, it was reſolved the King ſhould haſten to *London*, and that if he could get thither before the Earl of *Eſſex*, with his Army, the King would be certainly well received, and, in all Probability, make an End of the War, of which the Parliament was in ſuch Fear, that ſeveral Expreſſes were ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to make all poſſible Haſte with his Army to *London*, and prevent the King's Coming before him: But our King trifled away his Time in taking *Banbury* and *Broughton*

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Broughton House, which belonged to the Lord *Say*, Places of very little Consideration! and so marched very slowly towards *London*, where the Earl of *Essex* with his Army arrived before him, tho' the King's Army was much nearer *London*, after the Battle of *Edgehill*, if right Use had been made of it. By Judgment of most, the Victory in this Battle was the King's, because he gain'd his Point, a clear Passage for his Way to *London*; of which the Parliament was so sensible, that not only reiterated Orders were sent to hasten the Earl of *Essex*'s March, but all the Shops, both in *London* and *Westminster*, were shut up the next Day after the Battle, that the People might be in a better Readiness to defend themselves and the Parliament.

But alas! the King retarded his March, of which the Earl of *Essex* taking hold, got between the King and *London*; and in this our March towards *London*, the Parliament sent a Petition to the King, in a much humbler Strain than their former Messages to the King used to be; which Petition the King liked well, and resolved to reside at his Castle of *Windsor*, there to receive the Parliament's Propositions: But News being then brought to the King, that *Essex* was advanced towards him, and had possessed the Passes of *Windsor*, *Kingston*, and *Acton*, and that if *Essex* should also take *Brentford*, the King would be wholly surrounded, and deprived either of moving or subsisting: Whereupon a Council of War was called, and Resolutions taken, that the King's Army should advance to

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Brentford, where, at the first, we found considerable Opposition. The Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment of Horse, where I was, being drawn up behind a great Hedge, where the Enemy had planted some Cannon, which we saw not, till they played so fast upon us, that we lost some Men, and were obliged to draw off and retire for our better Security; and upon our Foot's coming up, we beat the Regiments of *Hambden* and *Hollis* out of the Town, took several Prisoners and Arms, and sunk two great Barks in the River of *Thames*, with many Soldiers: And as two other Regiments came up to their Succour, they were also beaten, and we took some Colours and Cannon, and were intire Masters of *Brentford*, until the Night; but then finding the Earl of *Essex*, with his Army, was drawn out upon *Turnham Green*, with the Trained Bands of the City, and that the Enemy's Army was double to the King's, and that most of our Ammunition was spent; it was therefore thought fit by the Council, that the King should retreat. Whereupon the King retired that Night to the Lord *Cottington*'s House, near *Hounslow*, and we marched the next Day by *Colebrook*, towards *Reading* and *Oxford*, the first of which Places was garrisoned, and *Oxford* was the King's Head Quarters, where he made his Residence. I can give this Relation with Certainty, being present in all that March, and in the Actions at *Brentford*, till the King's Return to *Oxford*, and then the Earl of *Northampton* was commanded to *Banbury*, which was

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was given him for Winter Quarters, with Orders to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe.

This Advance of the King's Army towards *London*, when a Treaty of Peace was propoſed both by the Parliament and the City of *London*, in a milder Strain than they had ever done before, was by many thought imprudent to make the Breach wider, and divers Reflections were made upon it: However, the King ſent Word to the Houſes, that he intended to ſettle his Court at ſuch a Diſtance from them, as might take away all Miſapprehenſions. Hereupon the City petition the King, profeſſing their Grief for his Diſtruſt of them, and declare their Loyalty to him. And the Parliament finding the general Inclinations of the People for Peace, reſolved to ſend ſome Propoſitions to the King, which not being accepted, the Treaty was ſoon broken off. But then another Treaty was propoſed in *March* following, and new Commiſſioners named, which were only the Earl of *Northumberland*, with four of the Houſe of Commons, who had free Acceſs to the King, who uſed them with great Civility and Favour, and treated perſonally with them, becauſe their Inſtructions were very ſtrict, and tied them up to treat with none but the King himſelf, where they often attended, and had Acceſs at all Times when they deſired it, and were allowed a very free Debate with his Majeſty. In this Treaty the King ſhewed his great Parts and Abilities, Strength of Reaſon, and Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, with much Patience hearing what was objected

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objected againſt him, wherein he allowed the Commiſſioners all Freedom, and when he differed from them in Opinion, he would tell them, by your Favour, my Lord *Northumberland* (who was the chief of the Commiſſioners) I am not of your Opinion, or, I think otherwiſe, and would himſelf ſum up their Arguments, and give a clear Judgment upon them. The King's great Unhappineſs was, that he had a better Opinion of others Judgment, than of his own (tho' weaker than his own) and of this theſe Commiſſioners at that time had a ſad Experience, to their great Trouble.

It ſeems, in this Treaty, they ſo preſſed his Majeſty with their beſt Reaſons and Arguments, to grant what they deſired, that the King was ſo fully ſatisfied with their Reaſons, that he abſolutely agreed to what they propoſed, and promiſed to give them their Anſwer the next Morning, according to their Deſires; but becauſe it was then late, and paſt Midnight, he deferred to give his Anſwer in Writing till the next Morning, and commanded them to wait upon him accordingly. The Commiſſioners hereupon went to their Lodging full of Joy, in Hopes to receive the Anſwer agreed upon; but, inſtead of what they expected, and was promiſed by the King, he gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was concluded between them the Night before. The Commiſſioners did moſt humbly expoſtulate with his Majeſty, and preſſed him upon his Royal Word, and the ill Conſequences they feared would follow upon this new Paper: To which

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which the King told them, he had altered his Mind, and that the Paper he gave them was his Anſwer which he was reſolved to make upon their laſt Debate, and they could obtain no other Anſwer from him, which gave them much Sadneſs and Trouble. After this ſad Rencounter, (which the Commiſſioners did not expect) they enquired of ſome of the King's particular Counſellours, how the King came to change his Mind, who ſaid, that after the King had left his Council, and was undreſſing, ſome of thoſe Gentlemen about him, whoſe Intereſt was for Continuance of the War, and hearing what Anſwer the King had promiſed, never left preſſing the King, till they had perſwaded and prevailed with him, to change his former Reſolution, and to order his Anſwer to be drawn as then delivered; which being intimated to the Commiſſioners, they uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to diſſwade the King from ſending this Anſwer, fearing it would break the Treaty; but they could not prevail, the Anſwer was ſent, and upon the Parliament's receiving it, they forthwith recalled their Commiſſioners, and the Treaty ended unſucceſsfully, having laſted from the Beginning of *March* till the Middle of *April*. This Relation I had from one of the Commiſſioners, my Couſin German, who, I am ſure, wiſhed well to the King, and deſired nothing more than a good Peace between the King and his People: And this Gentleman was after accuſed in the Houſe of Commons, by a Lord who was at the Time of the Treaty with the King

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King in *Oxford*, but soon after deserted the King, and went to the Parliament, and accused that Commissioner to have had several private Conferences with the King, unknown to the rest of the Commissioners; and if that Person had not been powerfully supported, and highly defended by Mr. *Denzell Hollis*, who was also a Commissioner, that other Person had been ruined by that Lord's false Accusation, who quite lost his Reputation by it. Thus we see a good King was unhappily misled by those about him, which caused him often to refuse those things to which he should chearfully have consented, and freely have condescended to many things which he should have denied to the last. It is certain, a Prince should esteem nothing more precious than his Word, nothing more sacred than his Promise; which made *Francis* I. of *France* say, That if Faith was totally banished out of the World, it should be found in his Word. Indeed a Prince should be careful of promising any thing that may be of Damage to him, and where the Thing promised cannot without good Reason bind to the Performance; and whether what the King promised to those Commissioners were of that sort, I will not undertake to determine.

When the King had settled his Court at *Oxford*, recruited his Army, and fortified his Garrisons in all Parts, he gave *Banbury*, and that Part of the Country, to the Earl of *Northampton*, who was commanded to raise a Regiment of Horse, which was given to the Lord *Compton*,

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Compton, his eldeſt Son, and Sir *Charles*, his ſecond Son, was made Lieutenant Collonel of it: To Sir *William Compton*, his third Son, was given the Caſtle of *Banbury*: One Troop in his Regiment of Horſe was given to Captain *James Chamberlain*, Brother to Sir *Thomas*, who was then High Sheriff of *Oxfordſhire*: To Captain *James Chamberlain* were given the two Villages of Upper and Lower *Heigford*, oppoſite to *North* and *Steeple Aſton*, in *Oxfordſhire*, for his Quarters, while he raiſed the ſaid Company: Mr. *Herbert Jeffries*, of *Herefordſhire*, was his Lieutenant, and I was his Cornet. This Company was ſoon raiſed, and the firſt Time the Captain went out with it, he was killed near *Northampton*, by one Captain *Lawſon*. About the ſame time Mr. *Herbert Jeffries* was ſent for by his Uncle Sir *Herbert Price*, upon Mr. *Jeffries*'s Father being drowned in paſſing the River *Wye*: Whereupon Mr. *Jeffries* came no more back, and the Troop of Horſe fell to my Lot, where I continued not long; for the Lord *Wentworth*, who was Major-General of the Horſe by the Death of Sir *Thomas Byron*, was alſo made Collonel of the Prince of *Wales*'s Regiment; and being very inquiſitive to find out a young active Man to be his Adjutant, I was recommended to his Lordſhip, by Mr. *Hatton Farmer* (Son to Sir *William Farmer* of *Euſton* in *Northamptonſhire*) who was at that time Cornet to the Prince of *Wales*. The great Difficulty was, whether I ſhould quit my Troop, to be his Lordſhip's Adjutant? To which I was

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adviſed by many, aſſuring me by that Employment I ſhould know more of the War in one Year, than being a Captain all my Lifetime; and ſo I quitted my Company, with the good Will of the Earl of *Northampton*, after I had been at the Battle of *Middleton Cheney*, near *Banbury*, where we beat the Parliament Troops. Upon the quitting my Troop, Mr. *George Chamberlain*, another Brother of Sir *Thomas*, was made Captain of it; and I had not been long with my Lord *Wentworth*, before my Lord *Wilmot*, being Lieutenant General of the Horſe, deſired me to be his Adjutant, which his Lordſhip could not refuſe, the Lord *Wilmot* being his ſuperior General Officer; and in that Station I remained with my Lord *Wilmot*, to his great Satisfaction, till his Diſgrace in *Cornwall*, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

During this Year 1643, I was Adjutant to my Lord *Wilmot*, when he defeated *Waller* at *Roundway-Down*, near the *Devizes*, took his Cannon, Ammunition, and Baggage, with ſome Foot Colours and Standards, and *Waller* himſelf eſcaped to *Briſtol*. By this Loſs of *Waller*'s, the King was Maſter of all the Weſt, *Briſtol* and *Exeter* being ſoon after delivered; and if the King had then marched to *London*, he had, in all Probability, made an End of the War. But he was ill (if not maliciouſly) perſwaded, to beſiege *Glouceſter*, which was the only Place left to the Parliament in theſe Parts. The King had Intentions of Storming it, but fearing to loſe the beſt Part of his Infantry in that Action,

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Action, and being assured it could not be relieved, made the King lose much Time, and the Opportunity of taking it: For the Earl of *Essex* soon raised an Army in *London*, for its Relief; to prevent which, Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Wilmot* were sent with all the Horse, to stop his Passage, or at least to retard his March through *Oxfordshire*: And tho' the Prince had then a brave Army, and was most commonly in a Race Campagne, and that we still marched before *Essex*, to eat up the Provisions, and to attend his Motions, yet we took no Advantage of him, nor was his Design of raising the Siege of *Glouceſter* prevented, tho' it was then in the last Extremity. When *Essex* came upon the Brow of the Hills, not far distant from *Glouceſter*, he discharged some Cannon, to give them Notice of his Coming, and the King hereupon raised the Siege, without any Loss or Impeachment from the Town. Thus, when the King's Affairs were in a prosperous Condition, he trifled away Time to no Purpose in that unfortunate Siege. When *Essex* had put the City of *Glouceſter* in Order, and left them Cannon and Ammunition, he marched unexpectedly to *Tewksbury*, which he surprized, and sent from thence great Stores of all Sorts of Provision, which the King sent thither from his Camp; and *Essex* likewise took in *Tewksbury* two Regiments of Horse, with divers Officers, commanded by Sir *Nicholas Crisp*; from whence he marched towards *London*, by the way of *Hungerford* and *Newbury*, where was the first *New-*

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bury Fight; but since I was not present in that Battle, I will not pretend to give a Relation of it: Only this I may say truly, that we staked there Pearls against Pebbles, and lost some Men there of great Consideration, tho' the Enemy lost more Soldiers, and were obliged to quit their Station; and in this Year 43, the King was so successful, that the Parliament began to despair, and the prevailing Party in the House of Commons were ready to truss up Bag and Baggage: But *Essex*'s Success at *Glouceſter* changed the Scene of publick Affairs, and the King returned to *Oxford*. It was about this time that the Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland* deserted the Parliament, and came to *Oxford*, to submit themselves to the King: But they not being received nor countenanced as they expected, they both returned again to the Parliament: When the King ought most certainly to have received them well, and to have used them kindly, for Encouragement to others. But our unfortunate Prince was still advised to take false Measures, in Affairs that most nearly concerned him. Upon their first Coming, there was a Debate in Council, by the King's Order, how they should be received? Some thought his Majesty should receive them very graciously, and with kind Expressions of his Acceptance of their Return to his Service, and that the Behaviour of all others towards them, should be such as might make them think themselves very welcome, without taking Notice of any thing formerly done amiss by them: But others, of a

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contrary Judgment, would not have them admitted into the King's Presence. Betwixt these Extremes, others were of Opinion, they should neither be neglected nor courted, but admitted to kiss the King and Queen's Hands. But the Reason of old *Fabius* ought to have been considered, which he gave in the Case of *Cassius Altinius*, who, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, deserted the *Romans*; and fled to *Hannibal*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* mended, he came again to them. Hereupon many thought he should be esteemed as a common Enemy, and sent back to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Person; but *Fabius* reprehended their Severity as unreasonable, who judged in the Heat of War, as in the Time of Peace, and told them, their chief Care ought to be, that none of their Friends should forsake them, and next, that they who had forsaken them, might return to their Obedience and Protection, and be well used: Which Method should have been taken with these two Earls, which had prevented their Return, and encouraged others to follow them.

But it was the unhappy Temper of those who were often called to Council in this King's Time, that Resolutions taken upon full Debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal Resolution, but often changed upon new and short Debates; and many Counsellours were irresolute and unconstant, and full of Objections, which much hindred good Resolutions. And the great Misfortune was, that the King most commonly

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conſidered more the Perſon that ſpoke, as he was in his Grace or Prejudice, than the Counſel it ſelf; and always ſuſpected, or at leaſt truſted leſs to his own Judgment than he ought to have done, which rarely deceived him ſo much as that of other Men: And if in the Caſe aforementioned, he had followed his own Judgment, he had received and uſed thoſe Lords very kindly. But at this time the King's Affairs were in a flouriſhing Condition, and it was the unlucky Temper of the King's Party, to be the moſt deſperately caſt down upon the leaſt ill Succeſs, and, upon any good, to be the moſt elated; and therefore were of Opinion againſt receiving thoſe Lords with any Civility, believing they returned to the King, becauſe the Parliament's Affairs were at that time but in a tottering Condition.

The King having ſucceſsfully ſettled military Affairs the laſt Year, and the Parliament fearing a farther Encreaſe of them, called to their Aſſiſtance their Brethren the *Scots*, in Purſuance of their wicked League and Covenant; which ſecond Voyage of theirs into *England*, brought that Deluge of Miſchiefs which afterwards followed; for, in the Beginning of the Year 44, the King's Affairs begun to change Face, for *Eſſex* and *Waller* were ſoon recruited at *London*, and by the Help of other aſſociated Counties, they raiſed two powerful Armies, marched into *Oxfordſhire*, hovering about the King's Head Quarters, who not liking ſuch Neighbours, had a Mind to draw them from thence,

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thence, and therefore left *Oxford*. Upon this the Enemy was ordered to follow the King, leaving his evil Counſellours unmoleſted in *Oxford*, contrary to what they had always till then pretended, that their Deſign was only to remove the evil Counſellours; but now it plainly appeared, that their Deſign was againſt the King's ſacred Perſon, ſince both Armies followed him, which being too great to continue long together, they ſeparated, and *Eſſex* was perſwaded by the Lord *Roberts*, and others, to reduce the Weſtern Counties to the Obedience of the Parliament, and that *Waller*, with his Army, ſhould attend the King's Motions, who was marching, as the Enemy thought, towards *Wales*: But the King gave *Waller* the Go-by, and having gotten before him, was marching to *Daventry* in great Diligence, having left a ſtrong Guard of Dragoons at *Cropredy* Bridge (a Paſs over the *Charwell* between both Armies) *Waller* being on the other Side the River, waiting the King; and perceiving the Guard was drawn off from *Cropredy* Bridge, and that the Van of the King's Army was much before their Rear, the Van having marched faſter than was neceſſary; ſo that the Rear of the King's were but then come to their Rendezvous, and were not advanced ſo far as the Bridge, which the King's Guard had quitted. *Waller* taking this Advantage, paſſed over a great Part of his Army at this Bridge, under the Command of Colonel *Weems*, who was General of the Artillery, with ſeveral Cannon

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of *Weems*'s Invention, being more easy of Carriage; and this great Detachment of *Waller*'s Army was drawn up just in the Way where the Rear of the King's Army was to pass, which was commanded by the old Earl of *Cleveland*, who was of Necessity obliged to fight the Enemy, before he could get to the Van of the King's Army; the whole Army of *Waller* being drawn up on the other Side the River, to pass the Bridge, in Case *Weems* succeeded, of which *Waller* doubted not, having passed over many more Troops than the Earl of *Cleveland* had in the Rear. However, the Earl behaved himself so well in that Engagement, that, after a very sharp Dispute, the Enemy was beaten, and forced over *Cropredy* Bridge, to join their Army. Many were killed upon the Place, and many Prisoners taken, with all their Cannon and Ammunition, and, amongst the Prisoners, *Weems*, a *Scot*, and the King's sworn Servant, being made Master-Gunner of *England*, a considerable Employment; and besides, he had a good Sum of Money given him, for the Invention of making those Leather Cannon. After the Battle, he was was brought before the King, and had the Impudence to tell his Majesty, in his *Scotch* Tone, That, in good Faith, his Heart was always towards his Majesty. This Victory was not obtained without some Loss on our Side, for Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *Wil-William Clark*, both Collonels of Horse, were killed, and much regretted, being brave Men. We had there a Regiment of Dragoons commanded

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manded by Colonel *Hooper*, who signalized himself upon this Occasion so well, that tho' he was of a mean Education, and small Extraction, yet such particular Notice was taken of him by the Earl of *Cleveland*, who gave so good an Account of his Service that Day, that the King gave him the Honour of Knighthood, by the Name of Sir *Thomas Hooper*, to encourage others to follow his Example. This Defeat made *Waller* hasten to *London* for Recruits, and the King taking Advantage of his Retreat, turned again with his Army, and marched with great Diligence after the Earl of *Essex*, who was gone into the West.

While the King was upon his March, he had an Account, that *York* was besieged by the *Scots*, who were joined with *Fairfax* and *Manchester*; upon which Information, the King sent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, to join with the Marquess of *Newcastle*'s Army, to raise that Siege, which the Prince did; but not content with that, he would needs follow the Enemy, with whom he fought upon *Marston-Moor*, four Miles from *York*, and had defeated the Enemy, disordered their main Battle, possess'd their Cannon, and forced their three Generals out of the Field; but being too furious in pursuing his Advantage, and his Soldiers too busy in Pillaging, *Cromwell*, who then commanded the Horse under *Manchester*, having rallied together some Troops, charged the Prince, and press'd him so hard, that he changed the whole Fortune of the Day, and forced the Prince to a

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disorderly Flight, and gained an entire Victory, and took Prisoners Major General *George Porter*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Collonel *Tybiard*, and several others. This Defeat was infinitely prejudicial to the King's Affairs in the North, the Loss of *York* soon following it, and many Reflections were made upon the Prince's Fighting, which he should not have done, his Business only having been to raise the Siege of *York*. Hereupon the Marquess of *Newcastle*, with several other eminent Officers in the North, being highly dissatisfied with the Prince, quitted *England*, and went to *Hamburgh*, whereby the whole North was soon after lost. The King having received an Account of this Defeat in his March, hastened the more after *Essex*, and being come into a Race Campagne in *Cornwal*, three or four Miles only from the Enemy, and General *Goring* being newly come from the North, after the Defeat of *Marston-Moor*, and was then with the King in the Head of his Army, the Van of which was that Day commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*, Major General, and the Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant General, brought up the Rear of the Army with his own Brigade; and being ready to go to Prayers, Mr. *Elliot*, of the King's Bed-chamber, came to his Lordship, and told him, the King would speak with him: To which the Lord *Wilmot* replied, *You see I am just going to Prayers, I will serve God first, and then I shall serve the King the better after, and will presently wait upon the King after Prayers*: Which

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Which being ended, as his Lordſhip was marching up to the King, Sir *Edward Sydenham*, Knight-Marſhal, came riding down the Hill, with ſeveral Gentlemen, and told the Lord *Wilmot*, that the King commanded him to be his Priſoner. His Lordſhip being ſomewhat ſurprized with this Meſſage, turned his Horſe, and I aſked him, what Service he would command me? To which his Lordſhip preſently replied, *I can command you nothing, being a Priſoner; but I pray you acquaint the Lord* Wentworth *with my preſent Condition*; which I did, who was much ſurprized with it, and ſo were all the other General Officers to whom I told it; and they all concluded it was the Effect of General *Goring*'s coming to the King. The Lord *Wentworth* forthwith alighted, with ſeveral other principal Officers, to conſider what Meaſures to take, in ſo ſudden and unexpected a Change, and were all much unſatisfied, believing General *Goring* to be the Cauſe, of whom they had no good Opinion, ſince his Examination in Parliament, at the Beginning of the War, when he was Governour of *Portſmouth*, which he ſoon delivered, and made good Conditions for his going into *France*, after he had received Money on both Sides, and reſtored to neither. Upon this Conſideration, the General Officers of Horſe were ſo far from being ſatisfied with the Change, that they preſently drew up an Addreſs to the King, which was penned by Mr. *Adrian Scroop*, the Subſtance of which was, as I well remember, as followeth.

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That they, the Lord Wentworth, *and other General Officers of the Army, having had the Honour long to ſerve his Majeſty under the Command of the Lord* Wilmot, *were ſo well and intimately acquainted with all his Concerns relating to the Army, that they were confident he could be guilty of no Crime but what they muſt know; and that finding his Lordſhip ſuddenly diſgraced, and fallen into his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, they therefore moſt humbly begged his Majeſty would graciouſly pleaſe to let them know what Fault the Lord* Wilmot *had committed, that they might free themſelves from it, or moſt humbly implore the King's Pardon for it.* This Addreſs was preſented to the King by the Lord *Wentworth*, accompanied with ſeveral General Officers, and others of the Army. I was then preſent, when the King, having firſt read the Addreſs to himſelf, gave this verbal Anſwer, which I heard the King ſay. *That if the Lord* Wilmot *had continued to command his Army of Horſe, his Crown could not have long ſtood upon his Head*; and he aſſured the Lord *Wentworth*, and thoſe Officers with him, that when the Buſineſs was over with the Earl of *Eſſex* (with whom he was now engaged) we ſhould all know what Fault the Lord *Wilmot* had committed: That, in the *Interim* his Majeſty was well ſatisfied of their Loyalty, who had preſented that Addreſs, and commanded them to go to their ſeveral Brigades and Regiments, and to obey General *Goring*, whom he had made General of all his Cavalry.

Hereupon

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Hereupon General *Goring* went to the Head of the Horſe, to command a Thouſand to be drawn out; but not finding the Lord *Wentworth*, nor the Adjutant General, he returned to the King, and complained, he could find no General Officer, or Adjutant, to draw out a Party: Whereupon the King aſked for me (who every Night brought his Majeſty the Liſt of the Quarters) and ſent *Tomkins*, an Equerry, to find me, and bring me to his Majeſty, which he ſoon did; and the King commanded me to go with General *Goring*, and obey his Orders: And accordingly I forthwith drew out a Detachment of One Thouſand Horſe, under the Conduct of Collonel *Richard Nevil*, of *Billingbeer* in *Berkſhire*. The General was pleaſed with my Diligence, in ſo ſoon drawing out the Detachment, and commanded me to come with him, and told me, he made me that Day his Adjutant; and that I being the firſt Man that the King had recommended to him, he would take particular Care of me, and aſſured me, that whenever Collonel *Scrimſour*, an old *Scotchman*, that was Adjutant-General, died, he would make me Adjutant-General; which happened ſoon after, and then I was made Adjutant-General of all the Horſe that were, or ſhould be raiſed in the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, for ſo my Commiſſion ran. But, leaving this Digreſſion, I muſt not omit to tell, that General *Goring* being advanced to the Top of the Hill, about two Miles before our Army, had

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had there a perfect View of the Enemy, who were then about *Leſtwythiel*. He ſtopp'd then, and ſent me back in great Haſte to the King, to tell him in what Poſture the Enemy was, deſiring the King to advance with his Army without Delay, and that he would make good the Poſt where he was, which would be very advantageous for his Majeſty's Army. In the mean time that I went from General *Goring* to the King, he commanded Collonel *Nevil* to ſend a Party towards *Buconnock*, the Lord *Mohun*'s Houſe, where perhaps a further Diſcovery might be made of the Enemy. Whereupon Collonel *Nevil* ſent out a Party under the Command of Monſieur *Gaſcoigne*, a *Florentine*, who meeting ſome Country-Men, he aſked them, if they knew any thing of the Enemy? Who told him, if he made Haſte to the Lord *Mohun*'s Houſe, he would find there ſome of the Parliament Officers at Dinner, not believing the King's Army was ſo near them. Whereupon the Party haſtened thither, and ſurprized ſeveral Officers, whom they brought Priſoners; for which Service, and ſome others after, he was Knighted, and known by the Name of Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, and was made Major to General *Goring*'s Regiment of Horſe, and ſerved not only to the End of the War in very good Eſteem, but was alſo at the Riſing in *Eſſex*, and condemned to be ſhot to Death at *Colcheſter*, with Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*; but being a Foreigner, he was reprieved, and ſaved. And now I will tell the Reaſons why

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why I appointed Collonel *Nevil* to command this Detachment of a Thouſand Horſe, tho' it was not his Turn to go. Whilſt the Addreſs from the Lord *Wentworth* and the General Officers was making to the King, his Lordſhip commanded me to go to ſuch Collonels of Horſe in the Army, to deſire their Agreeing and Signing to the Addreſs: And when I told Collonel *Nevil* of it, he ſaid, he was as great a Servant to the Lord *Wilmot*, and had as good an Opinion of him as any Perſon in the Army, well knowing that his Lordſhip had long and faithfully ſerved the King; but yet, whoever the King ſhould ſet over him, he would obey: And added, that he thought not fit, at that Time eſpecially, to diſpute the King's Commands, when they were going to attack the Enemy; and that therefore he would have no Hand in the Addreſs, and deſired the Lord *Wentworth* to excuſe him: And it was upon this Conſideration that I choſe Collonel *Nevil* to command that Detachment, tho' I knew it was not his Turn to go; in which he acted to the General's great Satisfaction, who had ever after a great Eſteem and Value for him.

At my Return to the King with the Meſſage of General *Goring*, the King forthwith marched with his Army towards him, who not only made good the Poſt where he was, but, upon the Earl of *Brentford*'s drawing and advancing farther, (who then commanded the Army in chief under the King) and reviewing the Situation of *Eſſex*'s Army, which then began to retire

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retire towards *Foy*, the King's Army did thereupon advance nearer the Enemy, and the King's General Head Quarters were settled at *Bucannock*, the Lord *Mohun*'s House, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* was ordered, with some Regiments of Foot, to fix them at the Lord *Roberts*'s House, a strong Quarters opposite to the King's, on the other Side the Valley; at the Head of which Valley a strong Guard of Horse was ordered to be constantly kept, to keep in the Enemy; our whole Army being encamped on both Sides the Valley, which prevented the Enemy from making any Excursion that Way. But, because the rest of *Cornwal* behind the Enemy was open, it was thought necessary to send a strong Detachment thither, to stop their Passage on that Side. Whereupon General *Goring* was sent with the greatest Part of the Horse to St. *Blase* Bridge, which was the only Passage by which the Enemy could enlarge their Quarters on that Side. Sir *Thomas Basset*, a *Cornish* Man, was likewise sent thither with his Tertia of Foot, and I was with his Excellency. The Enemy, by this Disposition of our Army, finding they were encompassed on all Sides, and that it was impossible to break through with their whole Army, without apparent Ruine, resolved to chuse the least Evil, and that their Horse, being about Two Thousand, should attempt in the Night to break thro' the Valley between both Armies, which succeeding, they might march with great Diligence, and pass the River at *Saltash*, before our Army could overtake them,

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and so get to *Plymouth*, and that *Essex* should take Shipping at *Foy*, and meet his Horse at *Plymouth*; and that Major General *Skippon*, who commanded the Infantry, should stay with them, to defend them as long as he could, and at last make Articles for them, being caught in a Net. This Resolution being taken, it was put in Execution the next Night; and General *Goring* being at St. *Blase*, a Soldier from the King's Quarters, for Orders brought a Letter without any Seal, written in great Haste by the King himself, in these Words: *Goring, the Enemy have, this Night past, broke thro' our Quarters with their Horse, after some Resistance made by our Horse Guard commanded by* Cleveland, *who was not able to hinder their Passage, being near five times his Number. They were like to have surprized Sir* Edward Waldgrave's *Brigade in their Passage; but he having some Notice of their March, prevented them. They are gone in great Haste, without Bag or Baggage, towards* Saltash, *commanded by Sir* William Balfour. *Some of our Horse are gone to stop their Passage at* Saltash, *if it be possible: You must therefore immediately march after them with all your Horse, and leave* Butler *with the Foot to keep St.* Blase *Bridge.* The General got his Army together forthwith, and marched after the Enemy with great Diligence, but was told by some Troops that followed them from the King's Quarters, that it was impossible to overtake them, they being returned upon that Account. Upon this Information, which the Gene-

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General had from some considerable Officers, who had followed the Enemy to no Purpose, his Excellency thought fit to return, and sent the Horse to their Quarters, and went to tell the King, he had been able to do nothing of what he had commanded. The General then stayed with the King, where Orders were forthwith given concerning the Enemy's Infantry; and upon Assurance that the Earl of *Essex*, with the Lord *Roberts*, and several others, were gone by Sea to *Plymouth*, and that their Foot Army began early in the Morning to retire towards *Foy*, in Hopes to find Ships there to transport them to their General *Essex* at *Plymouth*: The King's Army hereupon, being in their Rear, pressed them so close, that they were forced to fight from Hedge to Hedge, being in an inclosed Country; and tho' they were many times put to a disorderly Retreat, however they fought till the Night parted us. The next Morning early Major General *Skippon* sent Collonel *Butler* to desire a Parly, which being accepted, and Hostages delivered, the Treaty began that Morning in the King's Quarters, and Articles were soon agreed upon, all Arms, Cannon and Ammunition, to be delivered with their Carriages. We took Fifty Pieces of Brass Cannon, Three Hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, Seven Hundred Carriages, between Nine and Ten Thousand Arms, and many common Soldiers deserted, and those who stayed, marched off only with Sticks in their Hands; but all Colo-

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Collonels and Field Officers were on Horſeback, with their Swords only, with Major General *Skippon* in the Head of the Army, who carried his Loſs with a very good Grace, and they were to be conducted to *Wincheſter.*

Collonel *Thomas Bulſtrode*, my Couſin German, had there a Foot Regiment, and I prevailed with General *Goring*, that, if I could diſengage him from that Service, he ſhould be well received, and have the ſame Command in our Army: And, in order to this, I accompanied him two Days, and ſhewed him all the Kindneſs I could, and uſed my beſt Endeavours to take him off from that Party; but he was ſo bigotted, and ſeduced by the Zealots of that Army, that I could prevail nothing with him, who told me plainly, he was reſolved to ſuffer with his Brethren (as he called them) rather than to quit them, or accept of any Employment I could offer him: And added, that his Father was Governour of *Aylesbury*, and had raiſed at his own Expences two Regiments for the Parliament, and that he was reſolved to run the ſame Fortune with the reſt of his Comrades, and therefore deſired I would not preſs him farther in that againſt which he had taken a final Reſolution; and ſo I left him as I found him, wilful, ſtubborn, and full of rebellious Principles.

This Defeat of their Army in *Cornwal* was certainly of very great Conſequence; for, tho' their Horſe eſcaped, yet moſt of their Foot were deſtroyed by their long and tedious March

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thro' an Enemy's Country, wanting Provisions and Necessaries, especially thro' *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, which were great Enemies to them, and all our Army of Horse marching at the same time near them, towards *Oxford*, and our Infantry followed; so that the Country People would scarce give them Provisions for Money. They found the same also in *Dorsetshire*, the Country People being usually for the strongest Party, and the King's Affairs at that time run very smoothly: And tho' the Parliament Officers did always lessen their Defeats, and enlarge their Victories, yet this Loss of theirs was so visible, that it gave great Reputation to the King's Affairs, and many scurvy Reflections were made upon *Essex*'s leaving the Army, which did proceed (as was publickly said) either out of Fear or Cowardice, neither of which was believed by thinking Men, knowing that the Earl of *Essex* durst fight, and had fought, and very well deserved of the Parliament before; and therefore they were rather of Opinion, that *Essex* finding more of their Intentions, who managed the great Design in the House of Commons, than was at first imparted to him, he saw no Way would bring the leading Members in both Houses to a Compliance with the King, in those peaceable Propositions his Majesty made to them, by his Letters, not only after *Waller*'s Defeat at *Cropredy*, but after his signal Victory in *Cornwal*, than by keeping things as near as his Excellency could, in an equal Balance. However, it was generally known, that there

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there were great Designs against *Essex*, many being very desirous to remove him from his Station of General, upon their Jealousy that he was too much inclined to Peace, tho' we found no such thing from him, neither had the Parliament any Reason to believe it; for, by raising the Siege of *Gloucester*, which *Essex* had done with great Dexterity, he did the Parliament so great Service, that they could never sufficiently acknowledge it; that Siege having been one of the greatest Misfortunes that happened to King *Charles*, during the War; and those who advised the King to it, either thro' Ignorance or Malice, did more Mischief to the King's Affairs, than the greatest of his Enemies: For if the King had marched towards *London*, when he sat down before *Gloucester*, he had, in all human Appearance, made an End of the War. But this King was very ill served in his Wars, thro' too much Fire and Heat in some of his Generals, by their frequent Factions among themselves, wherein the King found Difficulty enough to reconcile them, even where he was in Person, and divers sudden Changes were made afterwards, which proved very disadvantageous to the King. This was the Time, when really those that wished well to the King, yet sacrificed his Security to their Animosities against each other, without any Design of Treachery, but to the King's irreparable Damage: A Time, in which Want of Discretion produced as much Mischief as the most plain Villainy; for the King suffered as much by

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the Faction of his Counſellours, by their not foreſeeing what was evident, and by their Jealouſies of what was not like to be; they often deliberated too long without Reſolution, and as often reſolved without deliberating, and never executed rigorouſly what was reſolved upon; and all went to wreck by Negligence, Inadvertency, and Dejection of Spirit. It was in this Year that the Queen was delivered at *Exeter* of the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, who was put into the Hands of the Lady *Dalkeith*; after which the Queen took Shipping at *Pendennis* Caſtle in *Cornwal*, and arrived ſafely in *France*.

Before the King left *Buconnock* in *Cornwal*, ſeveral Addreſſes were made to him in the Lord *Wilmot*'s Behalf; but the Lord *Digby* being then Secretary of State, ſtill delayed the Buſineſs; the Lord *Wilmot*, in the mean time, being firſt ſent Priſoner to *Exeter*, from thence to *Barnſtable*. At laſt, upon the King's being daily importuned in that Affair, the Lord *Digby* gave this Anſwer from the King, and that they were to expect no other, which was as follows. *That, upon the Earl of* Eſſex's *marching into* Cornwal, *it was reſolved at a Cabinet Council, where the Lord* Wilmot *was, That the King ſhould write with his own Hand to the Earl of* Eſſex, *offering him what Conditions he pleaſed, if he would lay down his Arms, come to the King, and leave his Army to the King's Mercy; and it was preciſely ordered by the King in Council, that no Perſon ſhould take Notice of that Letter,*

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Letter, or ſend any Meſſage to the Earl of Eſſex: *That, notwithſtanding this particular Command of the King's, the Lord* Wilmot *bid him that carried the Letter, to remember his Service to the Earl of* Eſſex, *deſiring he would lay hold of the Opportunity then offered, aſſuring him the King ſhould make good his Word, and that he (the Lord* Wilmot) *would take Care the Courtiers ſhould not hinder it, nor carry things as they had done.* Upon this Anſwer the Officers gave over their Purſuit of any farther Addreſſes, and the Lord *Wilmot* was no farther queſtioned, but went into *France* at the End of the War, and was the chief Perſon that ſaved the Life of King *Charles* II. after his Defeat at *Worceſter*, and carried him ſafe into *France*, and was in great Eſteem with that King, even to his Death; and his Diſgrace under King *Charles* I. was look'd upon purely as an Effect of the Power General *Goring* had at that time with the King, who had certainly all *Wilmot*'s Faults, but wanted his Regularity, and preſerving his Reſpects with the Officers. *Wilmot* always ſhut Debauchery out of his Buſineſs, never neglected that, and ſo rarely miſcarried in it: *Goring* had a ſharper Wit, and much a keener Courage and Preſence of Mind in Danger, in which *Wilmot* could not behave himſelf ſo well, and therefore warily declined it, as he did near *Southam*, at the Beginning of the War, when the King was near *Coventry*, before his Standard was ſet up; and for miſſing that Opportunity of Fighting, his Lordſhip

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was much blamed. *Wilmot* never drank, when he was within Distance of an Enemy, and *Goring* seldom or never refused it, and could not resist Temptations; and therefore he had always much Company, and few Friends, and he loved no Man so well, but he would cozen him, and then laugh at him for being cozened.

About this Time, General *Goring* was sent for with his Forces to the King, and upon his first coming, lying at *Bampton in the Bush*, he defeated the Enemy, which gave him such Reputation, that he was sent into the West with full Power as Generalissimo, and General of all the Horse of *England*. His Excellency then went to *Taunton*, and besieged it, which Place was reduced to some Necessity, when Collonel *Graves* came to relieve it: Whereupon the General drew up the Hills, whilst *Graves* put some Recruits and Provisions into the Town. At the same time the General sent Sir *John Digby*, Major General of the Horse, with a great Detachment, to fall upon Collonel *Graves* in his Retreat; in which Action Sir *John Digby* had good Success, and took many Prisoners: But being shot in the Arm, he was sent to *Bridgwater*, to be cured; but his Arm gangrened, and he there died, to the great Regret of the Army, and of all that knew him. So soon as *Graves* was retired, General *Goring* drew down his Army again to besiege *Taunton*, which put the Garrison into greater Consternation than before, believing the King must have had some extraordinary Success, which made our Gene-

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ral take thoſe Meaſures. We preſſed them ſo hard, that we were like to be ſoon Maſters of the Place, but that an unlucky Accident happened, of Sir *William Courtney*'s and Collonel *Thornhill*'s falling foul upon each other, inſtead of the Enemy, which was a great Misfortune; and tho' the Governour, *Blague*, defended the Place very bravely, we were likely to be Maſters of it in a very little time.

But I muſt not forget, that, after the Defeat in *Cornwal*, the King ſtaying ſome time in the Weſtern Parts, *Eſſex* got together another Army, and being joined with *Waller* and *Mancheſter*, was then ſo ſtrong, that he hoped to take his Revenge, and encompaſs the King, who was then going to *Oxford*, taking *Newbury* in his Way. *Eſſex*, with his Army, had made his Rendezvous in *Aldermarſton* Park, belonging to Sir *Humphrey Foſter*; from whence he came more ſuddenly upon us than we expected, which put us into ſome Confuſion. They attacked us at the ſame time in ſeveral Places, with different Succeſs, being much ſtronger than we; and when they could not prevail in one Place, they attack'd us in another, hoping in the End to ſurround us: So that there was fighting at the ſame time in ſeveral Places, in moſt of which the Enemy prevailed, and we retired, and were upon the Defenſive in all Parts. Upon the Weſt Side of *Spine* they preſſed us very hard, where young Sir *John Greenvil* was poſted upon a high Riſing Ground, with ſome Foot and Cannon, with a ſmall Retrenchment before him:

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General *Goring* being then on that Side, and seeing the Enemy intended to attack that Place with Horse and Foot, to prevent which, he resolved to charge their Horse with the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade, which was then drawn up on that Side, which was done accordingly: But the Earl of *Cleveland* engaging his Person too far, was there taken Prisoner, and then a great Body of the Enemy's Foot advanced in good Order upon Sir *John Greenvil*, forced him from that Post, with the Loss of some Men and Cannon, and himself wounded in the Head with a Sword in this Action. Upon this Success, the Enemy pursued furiously, and the Fight continued very hot, the Enemy still advancing: Whereupon I was commanded by General *Goring*, to bring up the Queen's Regiment of Horse, which was then in Reserve, commanded by Sir *John Cansfield*, who charged them so home, that he stopp'd their Career, and obliged them to retreat, which gave some breathing Time to our Troops on that Side; but in this Action Sir *John Cansfield* had one of his Legs shot and broken: And while we were thus fighting on that Side of *Spine*, *Manchester*, with his Army, attacked Mr. *Doleman*'s House at *Shaw*, below the Castle, where there was a sharp Engagement all that Afternoon, and the Garden was warmly attacked, and as well defended, by the Collonels *Lisle* and *Thelwell*, with the Help of Sir *Thomas Hooper*'s Dragoons; and a little before the Evening, Sir *John Brown*, with the Prince's Regiment of Horse, charged the Enemy

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my so briskly, that he obliged them to retreat up the Hill, with the Loss of some Colours, and two Field Pieces of Cannon. Thus the Fight continued on all Sides, till the Night parted us. The King stayed in the Field till Midnight, that all our Cannon were drawn within the Walls of *Dennington* Castle, for their Security, and then General *Goring*, with most of the Army, marched that Night towards *Oxford*, without any Alarm from the Enemy, who durst not follow us, and the King went to *Bristol*. The next Day, after our Retreat, *Essex* possess'd himself very quietly of *Newbury*, making little Doubt of taking *Dennington* Castle, which was thrice summoned, and as often stormed, but without Success; and finding it would be a Work of Time, and nothing was to be got there but Blows, he retired with his Army, and quitted *Newbury*; to which Place General *Goring* soon came again, relieved the Castle with what was wanting, and brought off all our Cannon.

The Parliament finding that *Newbury* was quitted, not only without, but against their Order, and all the Cannon brought away from *Dennington* Castle, tho' the Parliament Armies were more than double to the Number of the King's, they were much displeased at the Proceedings of *Essex*, which being joined with great Aspersions of his ill Conduct in *Cornwal*, made the Parliament resolve to new model their Army, which they would do with great Policy, by Degrees, that the less Notice might be taken

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of it. In order to this, they first made a Self-denying Ordinance (as they called it) that after such a prefixed Time (which was then declared), no Member of either House of Parliament should enjoy any Office either Civil or Military.

The Winter following this Year, General *Goring* was quartered at *Bruton* in *Somersetshire*, at Sir *Charles Berkeley*'s, a great inclosed Country, where the Villages were thick, and great Store of Forage for Horse. Sir *William Waller* was then quartered at *Salisbury* in *Wiltshire*, where the Villages are thin, standing only in the Valleys, some Distance from each other. General *Goring* taking this Advantage, sent out Parties, almost every Night, to beat up the Enemy's Quarters in *Wiltshire*, which was done with such good Success, that in a short time we took many Prisoners and Colours, which occasioned *Waller* to write this ensuing Letter to General *Goring*. *Noble Lord, God's Blessing be on your Heart, you are the jolliest Neighbour I have ever met with: I wish for nothing more, but an Opportunity to let you know, I would not be behind in this kind of Courtesy. In the mean time, if your Lordship please to release such Prisoners as you have of mine, for the like Number and Quality that I have of yours, I shall esteem it as a great Civility, being your Lordship's most Humble and Obedient Servant,*

William Waller.

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This Letter was brought by a Trumpeter, who had been often with us, and was well known to us, and was a good pleaſant Droll; and whilſt we were at Dinner in the General's Quarters, a Party of Horſe returned, with five Colours, and ſeveral Priſoners of Collonel *Popham*'s Regiment, whoſe Quarters were beaten up the Night before. Upon this the General ſent for the Trumpeter into the Room, where we were at Dinner, to ſhew him the Colours, and the principal Priſoners: Whereupon the Trumpeter preſſed his Excellency to diſpatch him back with his Anſwer, fearing, if he ſhould ſtay longer, that *Waller* himſelf might be taken, before he, the Trumpeter, could reach *Salisbury*; and ſo he was diſpatched with this Anſwer from the General: *That if Sir* William Waller *had Authority, and could nominate two Officers of Quality, of his Army, to meet two Officers of the like Quality, of General* Goring's *Army, at any convenient Place between both Armies, they ſhould be empowered to exchange all Priſoners on both Sides, of equal Quality, from the* Lands-End *in* Cornwal, *to* Portſmouth *in* Hampſhire: Which Sir *William Waller* willingly accepted, and accordingly named Collonel *Ennis*, his Adjutant General, and Major *Butler*, who was Major to *Waller*'s own Regiment, and deſired *Shaftsbury* might be the Place of Meeting. To this the General willingly conſented, and ſent a Paſs by the ſame Trumpeter, for the Perſons named by Sir *William Waller*, and at the ſame time nominated me with Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, Major

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jor to his own Regiment, Commiſſioners from his Excellency: And accordingly a Paſs was ſent us forthwith from Sir *William Waller*, and the Time appointed for our Meeting at *Shaftsbury*, to which Place we all came the ſame Day with our Servants, and Trumpeters with each. The Country People believing we were appointed to make a Peace, flocked in great Numbers to *Shaftsbury*, where we ſtayed fifteen Days, to releaſe all Priſoners of Quality on both Sides, from the *Lands-End* in the Weſt, to *Portſmouth*. Sir *William Waller* ſent us a great Preſent of Wines, which came from *London*, believing we could have none ſuch elſewhere. We then appointed all our Priſoners to be brought to *Wareham* in *Dorſetſhire*, and all the Priſoners of the Parliament's Side, to be brought to *Chriſt-Church* in *Hampſhire*; and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne* went to *Wareham*, to receive our Priſoners, and Major *Butler* went to *Chriſt-Church*, to receive the Parliament's. Collonel *Ennis* returned to *Salisbury*, and I came back to *Bruton*, to give the Generals an Account of what we had done.

Now, the King having often ſollicited the Parliament for Peace, even after both his Victories, at *Cropredy* Bridge, and in *Cornwal*, and the Parliament ſeeing the general Inclination of the People and City of *London* bend that way, that they might ſeem at leaſt to have the ſame Deſires for the Good of the Nation, (tho' it plainly appeared they otherwiſe intended) the Parliament, with the Conſent of the Commiſſioners for *Scotland*, preſent ſome Propo-

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Propoſitions to the King, which they deſire may be treated on at *Uxbridge*: To which Treaty the King ſoon agreed, when it was well known the Parliament never intended to come to an Agreement, by their moſt irrational and unjuſt Demands, which they knew, the King could neither in Reaſon, Honour, or Conſcience, grant; and ſo the Treaty was ſoon broken, to the King's great Diſſatisfaction, who then clearly ſaw, the Parliament was reſolved to proſecute the War againſt him, to the laſt Extremity.

About this time, the great Deſigns againſt *Eſſex* began to appear, who was much ſuſpected by thoſe who deſigned to deſtroy both Government, Miniſtry, and Magiſtracy, and reſolved to remove the Earl of *Eſſex* from his Command, and took Reſolutions to put the Self-denying Ordinance in Execution: But *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, and *Denbigh*, forthwith ſurrendered their Commiſſions; the ſame did likewiſe the Earl of *Warwick*, their Admiral, they being all fully perſwaded, by the Parliament's Proceeding, that they intended to perpetuate themſelves, and the uſurped Government of the three Nations, and to make themſelves a free State, under a Preſbyterian Government. But the Parliament were much miſtaken in their Policy, and were ſoon deprived of their main Deſign, and quickly loſt all that Dominion which they ſo eagerly deſired, and ſo long gaped for, it being preſently ſnatched out of their Hands, by the Independant Party, who were newly

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newly ſprung up out of their own Bowels: For notwithſtanding their Self-Denying Ordinance, *Cromwell* was diſpenſed with to hold his Command of Lieutenant General to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who was made General of their new modelled Army, whoſe firſt Rendezvous was at *Windſor*, where they did their own Buſineſs, and quite ruined the King's.

The firſt Succeſs by this new modelled Army was performed by *Cromwell*, who waſting the Country with a Body of Horſe, fell unexpectedly upon a Party at *Iſlip* Bridge, commanded by the Earl of *Northampton*, who were defeated, and ſome Priſoners taken, and the Remainder purſued to *Bleckington Houſe*, four Miles from *Oxford*, where Collonel *Windebank* was ſettled for ſome time, with a ſmall Party of Horſe and Foot. *Cromwell* preſently ſummoned the Houſe, which had only a Wall about it; the Governour forthwith ſurrendered it, and had Articles to retire to *Oxford*; where being called to a Council of War, he was condemned, and ſhot to Death, for delivering it ſo ſoon to a Party of Horſe only, when he might have had ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from *Oxford*, which was but four Miles from *Bleckington*.

About this time, General *Goring* was at the Siege of *Taunton*, of which he was in great Hopes ſoon to be Maſter, (at leaſt he made us all believe ſo) when he received Letters from the King (ſome Days before his taking of *Leiceſter*) commanding him to quit the Siege of *Taunton*, and haſten to him with his Army, fearing

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fearing the Enemy would be too ſtrong for him: To which I wrote the General's Anſwer to the King, having kept the Copy of it, which was to this Effect. *That he was certain, in few Days, to be Maſter of* Taunton, *and ſhould leave that Country free from any Enemy, excepting* Lyme *(which was then, and had been for ſome Time blocked up;) whereas, if he ſhould leave the Siege, the Enemy would be Maſters of that Country; and therefore he moſt humbly prayed the King, to forbear any Engagement, and to be upon the Defenſive, upon the River of* Trent, *which he might very well do, till the Siege of* Taunton *was ended, and then he would bring his Army to ſerve the King to his beſt Advantage; and he did again deſire the King to keep at a Diſtance, and not engage.* But the taking of *Leiceſter* being a great Loſs to the Parliament, and of ſuch Advantage to the King, that his Majeſty then wrote to the Queen, that he might (without being too much ſanguine) affirm, that, ſince the Rebellion began, his Affairs were never in ſo hopeful a Way; and indeed the Parliament was then likewiſe of the ſame Opinion. But this Letter from the General being intercepted by *Fairfax*, cauſed his ſudden Advance from his Rendezvous at *Brickhill*, to ſend in great Haſte for *Cromwell*, who was gone into the Iſle of *Ely*, upon whoſe Return a Reſolution was taken to engage the King forthwith to a Battle, before the Loſs of *Taunton*, and that General *Goring* ſhould arrive with his Army. Now, the King, not having Advice from Ge-

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neral *Goring*, by his Letter being intercepted, and both his and his Soldiers Spirits being much heightened by taking of *Leiceſter*, and the King hearing the Enemy was advancing towards him, a Council was forthwith called at Midnight, where it was reſolved to give the Enemy Battle the next Day; to which the King then prepared, and had in all Appearance gained a Victory, if Prince *Rupert* (who was ſometime before made Lieutenant General of all the King's Armies, in Place of the Earl of *Brentford*) had not, after his uſual Manner, having defeated the Enemy's left Wing, purſued furiouſly ſo far, as to leave the Foot naked, who were ſeverely fallen upon by the Enemy's Reſerve of Horſe, who had put them in great Diſorder, and the whole Army was almoſt totally broken, before the Prince came back to to their Relief, tho' the King in Perſon (to the great Hazard of his Life) did all that poſſibly could be done by Valour, in rallying his Horſe, and endeavouring to maintain the Battle; but ſeeing all loſt, the King was forced to fly towards *Leiceſter*, for his own Safety, leaving the Enemy wholly Maſters of the Field. The Loſs of all was Prince *Rupert*'s purſuing the Horſe, which he had beaten, whoſe natural Heat and Impatience was ſuch, that he could not endure the Enemy in View, nor would he believe the Enemy had Courage to endure his Charge; and thus the Army was engaged, before the Cannon was turned, or the Ground made choice of, upon which they were to fight:

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So

So that Courage was only to be relied on, where all Conduct failed. However, if the King had then gone directly into the West, where he had an Army ready formed, and People generally devoted to his Service, instead of amusing himself about forming a new Army in Countries worn out with the Oppression of his own Troops, and the Licence of their Governours, he might have given the Enemy a great Interruption, if not restored his Affairs. Thus this fatal Battle of *Naseby*, fought the 14th of *June*, proved the entire Ruine of all the King's Affairs. The King, after this Battle, fled from Place to Place, not well knowing which Way to turn himself: At last he came to *Newark*, where he received a new Mortification from his Subjects then in Arms for him, much sharper than any he had received from the Enemy, which he suffered with more Grief and Perplexity of Mind. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, after the Loss of the West and *Bristol*, were at *Belvoir* Castle, where the King commanded them to stay, and not to follow him to *Newark*; but, contrary to the King's Commands, they both came thither, and Prince *Rupert* told his Majesty, he was come to give an Account of the Loss of *Bristol*, and to clear himself from those Imputations that had been cast upon him for the Surrender of that Place. Tho' the King was displeased with the Prince's coming thither, contrary to his Orders, he was yet resolved to hear Prince *Rupert*'s Defence, who had promised the King to hold *Bristol* at least four Months,

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and yet gave it up almoſt in as few Days: And he told Prince *Rupert*, that he did really believe, the Prince had no Deſign againſt his Service, and that he would command a Declaration to be drawn up, by which the Prince ſhould be abſolved from any Diſloyalty, either in that, or any other Action of the War; but that in Truth he could not abſolve him of Indiſcretion in the Delivery of *Briſtol*. The King reſolved to retreat from *Newark* towards *Oxford*, becauſe the Enemy were on the North Side of *Trent*, but he imparted his Reſolution to none, except to two or three of the neareſt Truſt about him; and finding great Differences grow betwixt Sir *Richard Willis*, the Governour, and the Gentlemen of the Country, who were firm to him, and whoſe Intereſt alone had preſerved that Place; and finding no Way to preſerve that Garriſon, but by Removal of the Governour, he ſent for him into his Bed-chamber, and after many gracious Expreſſions of the Satisfaction he had received in his Service, he told him, his Deſign was to go that Night, and to take him with him, and to make him Captain of his Guards, in Place of the Earl of *Litchfield*, who was lately killed near *Cheſter*, and would leave Collonel *Bellaſis* Governour there, who being allied to moſt of the Gentry of the adjacent Counties, would be more acceptable to them; and that he could not give a more ample Juſtification of his Services, and of his Satisfaction in them, than by the Honour and Truſt he conferred upon him. Sir *Richard Willis* appeared

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appeared much troubled, and excuſed his taking the other Command, as a Place of too great Honour, and that his Fortune could not maintain him in that Employment, and ſaid, his Enemies would triumph in his Removal. The King told him, he would take Care and provide for his Support, and ſo went out of his Chamber to Church; and after his Return, being at Dinner, Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, Lord *Gerard*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, with about Twenty Officers of the Garriſon, came into the Preſence-Chamber, where Sir *Richard Willis* addreſſed himſelf to the King, and told him, it was the publick Talk of the Town, that he was diſgraced, and turned out from his Government; and Prince *Rupert* added, Sir *Richard Willis* was to be removed from his Government, for no other Fault, but for being his Friend. The Lord *Gerard* ſaid, it was a Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traitor, and he would prove him to be ſo. The King was ſo much ſurprized at theſe extravagant and inſolent Diſcourſes, that he roſe from Dinner in great Diſorder, and retiring into his Bedchamber, he called Sir *Richard Willis* to follow him, who anſwered loudly, that he had received a publick Injury, and expected a publick Satisfaction. This ſo provoked his Majeſty, that, with much greater Indignation than ever he was ſeen poſſeſſed with, he commanded them to depart his Preſence, and to come no more into it; and this with ſuch Circumſtances in his Looks and Geſture, as well as Words, that

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they appeared no leſs confounded, and departed the Room, aſhamed of what they had done: Yet ſo ſoon as they came to the Governour's Houſe, they ſounded to Horſe, intending to be preſently gone; but ſoon after they ſent to the King for Paſſes, who gave them ſuch as they deſired, and ſent them, and declared Collonel *Bellaſis* Governour of *Newark*, but forgot at the ſame time to have hanged up Sir *Richard Willis*, for his inſolent Carriage towards his Sovereign.

After this the King went to *Oxford*, ſent ſeveral Meſſages for Peace, and for a preſent Treaty; that he would come to *London*, and put himſelf into their Hands: But nothing would be accepted. And tho' he tried to deal with the Independants, yet it was in vain; the King's ill Succeſs run on in a continued Series, in this Year 1645, he loſt more in three Months than he had gotten before in three Years. The *French* ſeemed glad of theſe Diſorders amongſt us, Cardinal *Richlieu* having had an implacable Malice and Hatred to *England*, ever ſince the Iſle of *Rhee* Voyage, and the declared Protection of *Rochel* againſt the King; and he being now dead, and Cardinal *Mazarin* in his Place, an *Italian*, who ſeemed very kind to the Queen, but yet gave very little and ordinary Supplies, that he might a little continue the Struggle; but he was more ſollicitous to keep a good Correſpondence with the Parliament, and to profeſs a Neutrality betwixt the King and the Parliament, by means of *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, the

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the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who made all his Addreſſes to the Parliament. But that which put a Period to all our King's Hopes, was the Defeating the Lord *Aſtley* near *Stow in the Wold*, who was taken Priſoner with ſeveral other Officers, and were all either killed or diſperſed, as they were coming from *Worceſter* to *Oxford*, which hindred the King from drawing any other Troops into the Field; and being now in the Ebb of his good Fortunes, he thought it in vain to expect a Treaty with his Parliament, who, in the Height of his good Succeſs, would liſten to no Reaſon: Yet, to ſatisfy his Friends, who were generally inclined to Peace, he ſent a Meſſage to his Parliament, full of tender Expreſſions, ſetting forth his deep Senſe of the Nation's Miſeries, by theſe civil Diſtractions amongſt them, and conjured them, as they would anſwer it to Almighty God, in that Day when he ſhould make Inquiſition for Blood, which had, or might be ſpilt, in that unnatural War; and as they tendred the Preſervation of their Religion, by all the Bonds of Duty and Allegiance to their King, of Compaſſion for their bleeding Country, or Charity to themſelves, to diſpoſe their Hearts to a true Senſe, and to employ their Faculties to a more ſerious Endeavour, together with his Majeſty, to put a ſpeedy End to theſe waſting Diviſions, and to make both King and People happy. But this Meſſage produced nothing, but much more inſolent Propoſitions than thoſe at *Uxbridge*; and it was in vain for the King to expoſtulate with

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them who were resolved not to give him any reasonable Satisfaction: And tho' the House of Lords was willing to correspond with the King's Desires, yet they were over-ruled and curbed by the Commons, the Lords then standing but as Cyphers, and were forced by the Commons into a Compliance, in whatever they desired or determined; and if the Lords dissented to any Particular, they would do it without them, the active Commons doing all things at their Pleasure: Which did sufficiently demonstrate, that they had no Intention to come to any Agreement of Peace, but to pursue their Designs to the uttermost Round of the Ladder; and having once drawn their Swords against their lawful Prince, to throw away the Scabbard, knowing their Crimes could not be safe, but by attempting greater: And tho' the Design was hatched in the House of Commons, for the Extirpation of Monarchy, yet I really believe the tenth Part of them never knew, nor thought, that the Business would go so far, as at last it did, they looking no farther than the bare Outside of Things, which carried a fair Shew and Gloss, to fight for King and Parliament, and were insensibly drawn in by the Insinuation of the prevailing Party.

The King found all his Endeavours for Peace signified nothing, that the Commons were resolved upon his Ruine, and that nothing would serve but his Submission to all they demanded, against which he was absolutely resolved, it being his Obligation in Honour and Conscience, not

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not to abandon a juſt Cauſe, nor injure his Succeſſor, nor forſake his Friends; and therefore expected no other Succeſs, but to end his Days with Honour and a good Conſcience, and did ſeriouſly avow, as appeared by his Letter to Prince *Rupert*, wherein he freely told the Prince, that thoſe who would ſtay with him, were to expect and reſolve, either to die for a good Cauſe, or, which was worſe, to live as miſerable in maintaining it, as the Inſolence of inſulting Rebels could make them.

I muſt confeſs, I knew not General *Goring*, till he came to the King in *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*, but I have heard great Reflections made upon his Conduct in the Buſineſs of *Portſmouth*, of which he was Governour in the Beginning of the War; and moſt wondered why the King would employ him, being made General of all the Horſe in *England*, and Generaliſſimo in the Weſt, both of Horſe and Foot. But I believe he had done ſome extraordinary Service for our King in *France*, before he came over with the Queen; and I have been informed from good Hands, that he did not only procure great Store of Arms and Ammunition, but furniſhed the Queen alſo with a conſiderable Sum of Money, which he got by his Dexterity and Cunning; which prevailed ſo much with the King, that, by the Queen's Interceſſion, he gave him thoſe great Commands, which made a mighty Noiſe in the Army, and gave great Diſcontent to many. As to his Perſon, I had as much Reaſon to know

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him as any, and was always entruſted with his moſt ſecret Diſpatches; and tho' I know his Memory remains blaſted upon ſeveral Occaſions, yet I cannot but do him this Right, which common Honeſty obliges me to ſay of him: That he was a Perſon of extraordinary Abilities, as well as Courage, and was, without Diſpute, as good an Officer as any ſerved the King, and the moſt dexterous, in any ſudden Emergency, that I have ever ſeen, and could extricate himſelf with the leaſt Concern, of which I was a particular Eye-Witneſs upon ſeveral Occaſions in the Siege of *Taunton*, where Collonel *Blague* the then Governour made many ſharp and unexpected Sallies; but he was ſtill repulſed and beaten back with Loſs, by the Courage and Dexterity of General *Goring*, without which that Siege had been ſoon raiſed. But after all that can be ſaid in General *Goring*'s Behalf, he had likewiſe his blind Side, for he ſtrangely loved the Bottle, was much given to his Pleaſures, and a great Debauchee; and the great Misfortune was, when he commanded in chief in the Weſt of *England*, his Excellency had two Companions, who commanded next under him, who fed his wild Humour and Debauch, and one of them, if not both, wanted his great and natural Courage. Theſe two Commanders, the one being Lieutenant General, made the General turn his Wantonneſs into Riot, and his Riot into Madneſs: So that if the King had been truly informed of their continued ſtrange Debauches, his Majeſty would either have removed

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moved them from him, or all Three from future Truſt or Employment: For when Princes give way to the Vices of their Commanders, tho' they be never ſo brave Men, they ſeldom recompenſe their Neglects by any future Diligence; for they muſt ſtand in Awe of the Prince they ſerve, or elſe the Prince muſt be Servant to their Humour.

Whilſt the Siege of *Taunton* continued, I confeſs Lieutenant General *Porter* had ſeveral Conferences with the Officers of the Rebels that were then in that Garriſon, to the great Scandal of many, who knew not what Interpretation to make of it; but this being often practiſed among the Chiefs of the Army, much Notice was not taken of it. About this time General *Goring* ſeemed ſomething diſcontented with the Prince's Council; whereupon Sir *John Berkeley*, Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and Collonel *Aſhburnham*, were ſent to confer with General *Goring*, to know particularly what he deſired. Their Conference was kept very private; however, I was informed, that the General carried himſelf very extravagantly, and that they could not ſatisfy him. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being then coming into the Weſt againſt General *Goring*, the Prince of *Wales* recommended to him the Garriſon of *Langport*, as being of great Importance for the Security of *Bridgwater*: But General *Goring*'s Troops being quartered about *Langport*, took away the Contribution aſſigned for the Support of it, to ſupply his own Army, which brought the Garriſon ſo low, that when

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it might have been very advantageous to our Army, it had very little or no Proviſion in it. And then, to add to our Miſery, the Clubmen in *Dorſet* and *Somerſetſhire* began to riſe, and ſent Complaints to the Prince of *Wales*, of the great Oppreſſions and Diſorders committed by our Army, which the Prince promiſed to reform, and went to General *Goring* about it, ſetting forth the great Danger the Country was in, by the Liberty his Troops took to themſelves. But the General having no Money to give the Army, connived at the Licence they took, and, at the ſame time, to ſhew his Popularity, ſided in many things with the Clubmen, who in the End did us as much Miſchief as the Power of the Rebels, who, about that time, being towards the Month of *July*, entered *Somerſetſhire*, and being ſuppreſſed, and agreed with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, he beſieged and took *Sherborn* Caſtle, which was well defended by Sir *Lewis Dives*, who was there taken Priſoner, with Collonel *Strangeways* and ſeveral others. After the taking of *Sherborn*, the Parliament Army advanced towards General *Goring*, who was encamped about *Langport*, which, by reaſon of the River on the one Side, and the great Marſh or Bogg betwixt that and *Bridgwater*, was eſteemed a ſtrong Poſt, and likewiſe to make a good Retreat, in Caſe we were beaten. The Day before we engaged, the General ſent Lieutenant General *Porter*, with three Brigades of Horſe, on the other Side the River, farther from the Enemy than we were, and in a Race

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Campagne, who had his Quarters beaten up at Noon Day, by General *Massey*, for want of Scouts being out, the Lieutenant General being then in his utmost Debauches with some of his Officers. The Enemy was seen coming from the Hills a Mile before them, and yet was upon our Men, before they could get to their Horses, who were feeding in the Meadows. The Alarm being brought to General *Goring*, he immediately marched in Person to his Succour, rallied the Horse that were flying, stopp'd the Enemy's Carreer, who were eagerly pursuing, and made a handsome Retreat, without which the best Part of our Army had been lost that Day; and when our General met Lieutenant General *Porter* in the Rear flying with the rest, his Excellency turned to me, and said, *He deserves to be pistoll'd for his Negligence or Cowardice*; but being the General's Brother-in-Law, that Fault was soon forgotten and pardoned: And yet I have often heard the General say, *That his Brother-in-Law, Lieutenant General* Porter, *was the best Company, but the worst Officer, that ever served the King.*

After this Beating up of Lieutenant General *Porter*'s Quarters, *Fairfax*, with his Army, marched directly to us from *Evil*, where, being a plain and rising Ground, the Enemy's Army was drawn up upon it, with a great Marsh and Bogg between both Armies, which hindred the Enemy from attacking us, except by one Passage in the Bottom of the Hill, between both Armies, which Passage was narrow, and

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our General had placed there two Regiments of Foot to guard that Paſſage; which were Collonel *Slaughter*'s and Collonel *Wiſe*'s Regiments, lately raiſed in South *Wales*. General *Goring* himſelf, with all his Horſe, was drawn up upon the Hill, at the Mouth of the Paſſage, with the Infantry upon his right Hand, near *Langport*, to ſuccour thoſe two Regiments, in caſe of Attack upon the Paſs, which the General hoped to make good, at leaſt till Night, that then we might retire with leſs Loſs, being unſeen. In the mean time, General *Goring* commanded me to ſend away all the Baggage and Cannon, except two Field Pieces, which he commanded ſhould be drawn to the Top of the Hill, at the Head of the Paſs, and bid me to order Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe* from him, who commanded the Foot near to *Langport*, that in caſe the Enemy ſhould force the Paſs upon him, that then Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe* ſhould retire with all his Foot to *Langport*, and there paſs the River towards *Bridgwater*, and burn down the Bridge behind him, which was a Drawbridge over the River; and, in the Morning, when I had Orders to ſend away the Baggage and Cannon, I ſent them that Way, for their greater Security, otherwiſe they had been all loſt; for we were in Hopes to keep that Paſs till Night: Yet ſo ſoon as the Enemy had put their Army in Order of Battle, upon the Top of the Hill, on the other Side the Bogg, which we thought was their whole Army, they opened and drew to their Right and Left, advancing towards

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towards the Pass, whilst another great Body came up in their Place, by which their Army was more than double our Number. However, our General neither lost his Courage nor Conduct, but still remained at the Head of the Pass, with his own Guards of Horse, commanded by Collonel *Patrick Barnwell*, a very brave *Irish* Gentleman, Son to the Lord *Barnwell*; next to him was the General's own Regiment of Horse, commanded by Collonel *Charles Goring*, his Excellency's Brother, who was also seconded by Sir *Arthur Slingsby*, with his Regiment of Horse, and the rest of the Horse Army behind him; but the Enemy advancing very fast down the Hill, with Horse, Foot, Dragoons and Cannon, much overpowered us in Number; and our Foot that were drawn down to guard the Pass not doing their Duty, many of them deserting, and shooting against us, the Enemy thereupon gained the Pass. The General charged the Enemy twice, but being much overpowered in Number, we were at last beaten off, and obliged to a very disorderly Retreat. The Foot, commanded by Major General *Wagstaffe*, retired to *Langport*; as did likewise the Lord *Wentworth*, and retreated over the Bridge that Way to *Bridgwater*, having broken and burnt down the Draw-bridge behind them: But our Horse were obliged to retreat the ordinary Way, which being a mooriſh Ground, full of several narrow Passes, where several Officers were obliged to stay, to make good the Retreat for others; so that divers of

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Diſtinction were taken, too many to be reckoned up, and among the Priſoners was Sir *Arthur Slingsby*, but Lieutenant General *Porter* eſcaped that Way, Room being made for him by other Officers. But our General, with his Brother, Mr. *Barnwell*, Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne*, and my ſelf, with ſome of our Retinue, were obliged to leave the Army upon our Left, to get over ſeveral difficult Places. However, we came at laſt ſafe to *Bridgwater*, tho' ſomething about, and were in great Fear, that all our Foot and Cannon were loſt; but it ſeems Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe* marched all Night, and came ſafe the next Morning to *Bridgwater*, and we loſt only one Piece of Cannon that Way, becauſe the Carriage of it was broke. I ſtayed all that Night with the General in his Chamber, and when I gave him Notice in the Morning, that Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe* was come with the Foot and the Cannon, he was overjoyed.

After we had repoſed two Days at *Bridgwater*, and got together our ſhattered Troops, who all paſt thro' *Bridgwater* as faſt as they came, for their greater Security, we then marched towards *Dunſtar* Caſtle, which we left on our Right, and made little or no Stop till we came near *Torrington*, where our Army quartered, and the General made his Head Quarters at Mr. *Rolles*'s Houſe, where we ſtayed ſome Days, and then we marched towards *Barnſtaple*, and from thence to *Exeter*, where we ſtayed that Winter, with Four Thouſand Horſe, who quartered in the Country near us. Whilſt we

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we were about *Torrington*, the General ſent the Lord *Wentworth* to the Prince of *Wales*, at *Launceſton*, making great Complaints of his hard Uſage, and made ſeveral Demands from the General, to which no Anſwer was given, becauſe the Chancellor of the Exchequer was abſent, being gone farther into *Cornwal* upon great Affairs of the Prince; and beſides, the Prince intended, at the Chancellor's Return, to go to *Exeter*; and when the Prince came thither, General *Goring* was ill, and in a Courſe of Phyſick: Whereupon the Chancellor was ſent to him, to whom, after many Aſſurances of continuing faithful to the King, and his Intereſt, he then freely declared his Apprehenſion of his Brother *Porter*'s Negligence, or Treachery, in many particular Inſtances, and that he reſolved to be quit of him. The Chancellor then told his Excellency freely, that his Demands by the Lord *Wentworth* to the Prince, were not ſeaſonable for his Royal Highneſs to grant, nor fit for him to aſk; and ſo the Chancellor left General *Goring*.

But I muſt not forget to tell, that whilſt General *Goring*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lieutenant General *Porter*, and moſt of the General Officers, both Horſe and Foot, kept their Winter Quarters in and about *Exeter*, the Death of Sir *John Digby* made vacant the Employment of a Major General of Horſe to the Lord *Goring*'s Army, for which there were ſeveral Pretendants, amongſt which was Collonel *Samuel Tuke*, who being the eldeſt Collonel of

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Horſe in our Army, ſtood faireſt for it, eſpecially being a Favourite to Lieutenant General *Porter*, and to Collonel *Charles Goring*, the General's Brother; and therefore made his firſt Addreſs to the Lieutenant General, deſiring his Aſſiſtance in his Pretentions; which being promiſed him by the Lieutenant General, he then applied himſelf to the Lord General *Goring*, who told him, he would willingly have ſerved him, but that he was before engaged for Collonel *Webb*, by the Interceſſion of Lieutenant General *Porter*: At which Collonel *Tuke* being much ſurprized, he preſently demanded the Lord General's Permiſſion to quit his Command, declaring, that being the eldeſt Collonel in the Army, he thought it a Right belonging to him, and that he could not ſerve with Honour, ſince another was put over his Head. Hereupon the Lord General forthwith promiſed him his Diſcharge, and commanded his Secretary, *Dun*, to draw it. Upon this Information from the General himſelf, that he was ingaged for Collonel *Webb*, upon the Sollicitation of Lieutenant General *Porter*, Collonel *Tuke* wrote a very reproachful Letter to the Lieutenant General, which ſo ſoon as he received, he forthwith ſent his Brother-in-Law, Collonel *Charles Goring* (for they were then both at Sir *William Portman*'s, five Miles from *Exeter*) to deſire Collonel *Tuke* to meet him at a Place he then appointed, to interpret his Letter; and Collonel *Goring* alſo told Collonel *Tuke*, that he muſt bring a Friend with him,

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who thereupon ſent to Collonel *Adrian Scroop*, who promiſed to go with him the next Morning. But this Buſineſs was not carried ſo privately, but that it quickly came to the Lord General's Knowledge, who preſently ſent for me, and commanded me to ſet Guards immediately upon Collonel *Tuke*, and upon Collonel *Scroop*, and to require them, in his Excellency's Name, not to ſtir from their Lodgings till farther Orders. The Lord General was at this time indiſpoſed with the Gout, and kept his Bed, but he preſently ſent for the Lord *Wentworth*, and deſired him to call a Council of War the next Morning, of the principal Officers that were then Town, and that his Lordſhip would be Preſident of it, for that there was a Quarrel, and a Duel deſigned, betwixt Lieutenant General *Porter* and Collonel *Tuke*: That this laſt was already ſecured in his Lodging, and alſo Collonel *Scroop*, who was to be his Second; and that he had ſent for the Lieutenant General, and his Brother Collonel *Goring*, who was concerned in the Quarrel. The next Morning the Council of War met, where Lieutenant General *Porter* was preſent, and ſat with the Council, which was compoſed of the Lord *Wentworth*, as Preſident, Lieutenant General *Porter*, Major General *Wagſtaffe*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Foulk* and Sir *Henry Hunkes*, Sir *Thomas Baſſet*, and my ſelf. The firſt thing (after having read the Letter) upon Debate was, That the Letter was very reproachful and provoking: The Subſtance of the Letter was,

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That he (Collonel *Tuke*) *would no more accuſe Lieutenant General* Porter *of Cowardice, ſince he had fought, and killed a Collonel in Juſtification of his Honour; but that the Lieutenant General was guilty of many other Sins, which ran in the ſame Rank with Cowardice; as, in his Breach of Faith, having promiſed to aſſiſt him in his Pretentions to the General, when he had before ingaged the General to another: In his little or no Religion, in turning the Bible and all ſacred things into Ridicule: In his great and conſtant Debaucheries, with many other Vices not fit to be named; and that now being upon even Terms with him, he could do no leſs than reproach him for his treacherous and unjuſt Dealing, in this Particular of his Pretentions, from the General's own Mouth; and that he ſhould look upon him as his darling Sin, whom he had loved the longeſt, and had the moſt Reaſon to repent him of it.*

After reading this Letter, which was much enlarged upon by the Lieutenant General, who declared, that tho' the Letter was not a formal Challenge, yet it was ſo provoking and reproachful, that no Man of Honour could receive it, without giving a Challenge to him that ſent it; and that this was alſo from an inferior Officer to a ſuperior, which was Death by the Articles of War. Hereupon aroſe a long Debate, after which the Council ordered, that I ſhould go forthwith to the Lord General, to know from him, whether he had diſcharged Collonel *Tuke* from being an Officer in his Army? To which

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the General told me, *That he had discharged him, and promised him a formal Discharge in Writing, and commanded his Secretary to draw it up; and that if it was not done, it was the Fault of his Secretary; and that since he had discharged him by Word of Mouth, he esteemed him to be no longer an Officer.* Upon my delivering this Answer from the General, the Council left off that Point, of debating his being an Officer; but the Council thought fit a Writing should be drawn up, and presented to him, which he should read publickly in Council, which was done accordingly in these Words following. *I confess to have written a scandalous and injurious Letter to Lieutenant General* Porter, *for which I am heartily sorry, and so desire his Remission and Friendship.* This Writing being agreed upon by the Council, Collonel *Tuke* was called in to make this publick Acknowledgment; which Paper being given to Collonel *Tuke*, he having first read the Words privately to himself, he expressed himself in publick thus. *I confess to have written a Letter to Lieutenant General* Porter; *it was my Sense of him when I wrote it, which is still my Belief, and there is not a Syllable in it which I will not justify with my Life.* Upon this the Council commanded him to withdraw, and they began to be very sharp upon him, that he should make that publick Declaration, contrary to the Sentiment of the Council; and it was the Opinion of some, that he should be committed to Prison, till he should make that pub-

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lick Acknowledgment which the Council had ordered: But Sir *Foulk* and Sir *Henry Hunkes*, with Sir *Thomas Baſſet*, declared againſt it, and ſaid, tho' he had ſpoken ſo publickly his Senſe as to his own Letter, yet he had not refuſed *in terminis* to make the Acknowledgment; and that therefore, before they came to that Extremity, of committing him to Priſon, one of the Council ſhould be ſent to him, to perſwade him to make that publick Acknowledgment; and accordingly I was deſired to go to him, which I did, and told him the Senſe of the Council, and that it was their general Opinion, that he ſhould not ſcruple of making that publick Acknowledgment, if he was called in again. And upon my Return to the Council, and declaring that I found him willing to make that Acknowledgment, he was called in again; and after his Reſpects made to the Lord *Wentworth* and the Council, he took the Paper in his Hand, and ſaid, *In Obedience to the Order of your Lordſhip and this Council, I do confeſs to have written a ſcandalous and injurious Letter to Lieutenant General* Porter, *for which I am heartily ſorry, and do deſire his Remiſſion and Friendſhip*; and then he retired. But then the Lieutenant General began to complain heavily, and ſaid That was not a ſufficient Satisfaction for the publick Scandal he had received, nor for the inſolent Behaviour of Collonel *Tuke*, and he ſeemed nothing pleaſed or ſatisfied with what the Council had done, who thereupon broke up without farther Satisfaction.

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Some time after this, Lieutenant General *Porter* came again to *Exeter*, before it was surrendered, and sent again to Collonel *Tuke* for farther Satisfaction; but the Collonel being then sick in Bed, was not able to meet him as he desired: However, Collonel *Tuke* did then write a Letter to him, assuring him, that so soon as he was able to get on Horseback, he would not fail to find him out, and give him the Satisfaction he desired, if the Fear of our sudden Ruine did not make him go to the Parliament sooner, which fell out as he foretold; For soon after this, Lieutenant General *Porter* made his Peace with General *Fairfax*, and went into the Parliament's Quarters, and Collonel *Tuke* never heard more of him, nor from him.

About this time the King sent to General *Goring*, to march to him with his Army; but the General neither obeyed the King's Orders, nor communicated them to the Prince, or advised with the Prince about them, tho' his Royal Highness then let him know, that he was well content he should break thro' to the King with his Horse, thinking he might well and easily have done it: But the General (after Recovery of his Health) spent his Time in his usual Jollities, and was privately resolved to leave the Army, and go beyond Sea; and Lieutenant General *Porter* was also resolved to quit the Army, and retire to *London*; but both these Transactions were carried very privately, and known to none but the Lord *Wentworth*, who

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went to the Prince with a Letter from General *Goring*, to beg Leave for his going into *France*, for Recovery of his Health, as he pretended; yet intimating at the same time to his Royal Highness, that he hoped to do him great Service by his going thither. But I was after assured by the Lord *Wentworth*, that he never attended the Prince's Resolution, but went forthwith to *Dartmouth*, and there embarqued for *France*; but before his going, sign'd a Warrant for some Money for Lieutenant General *Porter*, to bear his Charges to *London*, who soon after the Lord *Goring*'s Absence, declined the Exercise of his Command, and having received a Pass from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, he went forthwith to *London*.

Soon after the Lord *Goring*'s going for *France*, the Lord *Wentworth* declared, that General *Goring* intended to return no more, but relied upon his Lordship to preserve the Horse, till he could procure Licence from the Parliament to transport them for the Service of the King of *Spain*, or some other foreign Prince. But after General *Goring* left the Army, the Soldiers took a greater Liberty than before, and much resented his going away. From the Beginning of *July* till towards the End of *October*, the General stayed at *Exeter*; and Four Thousand Horse were quartered in that Neighbourhood, without making any Attempt upon the Enemy: And considering his doing nothing in all that time but pleasing himself, many were of Opinion, that if he had been confede-

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rate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to betray the Weſt, he could not have done worſe; not having obeyed the King's Commands in going to him, tho' his Royal Highneſs was willing to it. His Courage indeed was always eſteemed, but leaſt of all his Conſcience and Integrity, and there was much Difference betwixt the Preſentneſs of his Mind in a ſudden Attempt, (tho' never ſo full of Danger) and of an Enterprize which required Deliberation and Patience, for he could not keep his Mind long bent; of which I had a particular Experience at his Siege of *Taunton*, where the Governour for the Parliament made many frequent and dangerous Sallies, but were always unſucceſsful, by the Vivacity and Courage of General *Goring*'s Spirit, which was very extraordinary.

After this General's going into *France*, his Army was ſolely left to the Diſpoſition of the Lord *Wentworth*, who was a very lazy and unactive Man, and was not thought either of Intereſt, Experience, Courage, or Reputation enough, for that Truſt which was devolved upon him by General *Goring*: It was therefore reſolved by his Royal Highneſs, that he ſhould rather be adviſed than commanded; and that if his Lordſhip comported himſelf with that Temper and Modeſty which was expected from him, all Reſolutions ſhould be formed in the Prince's Council, and all Orders ſhould iſſue in his Lordſhip's Name, for the Relief of *Exeter*; for all the Army of Horſe was then drawn off from *Exeter*, and the Lord *Wentworth*

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was quartered at *Aſhburton*, ſix Miles from *Totnes*, and the whole Contribution which was for Support of the Army, was taken forcibly by the Lord *Wentworth*'s Horſe. Whereupon the Prince, being then at *Totnes*, ſent for the Lord *Wentworth*, who told the Prince in the firſt Place, that he was to declare to his Royal Highneſs, that he could receive no Orders from any Perſon but his Highneſs, the Lord *Goring* having repoſed that Truſt in him, and talked very imperiouſly and diſreſpectfully. However, the Prince took little Notice of it; but the next Day his Lordſhip being in Drink, which was his uſual Fault, he talked very offenſively to the Chancellor (whom he always hated) tho' of the Prince's Council, in Preſence of the Prince, who being much diſſatisfied with the Lord *Wentworth*'s Carriage, told him, he would take the Command of the Army upon himſelf, and iſſue out the Orders as he ſhould think fit; upon which the Lord *Wentworth* troubled, and much unſatisfied, returned to his Quarters at *Aſhburton*, which were ſoon after beaten up by the Enemy at Noon Day, and the Army thereby put into great Diſorder.

Upon this Incident the Lord *Wentworth* went in great Haſte to the Prince, who was then at *Taveſtock*, upon the Borders of *Cornwal*, and informed the Particulars of his Loſs, which was not ſo great as his Lordſhip imagined. The Prince was very deſirous to purſue his former Reſolution of going to *Totnes* with the Body of his Army; but the Lord *Wentworth* told him, he believed

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the Enemy was poſſeſſed of *Totnes*, and that he could not ſo ſoon recover his Loſs, nor get his Troops together in any conſiderable Number, till they had ſome Days Reſt; and ſo that Deſign of the Prince was ended; whereas the Rout of the Army was occaſioned only by ſmall Parties of the Enemy, who came into our Quarters in the Day time, and found no Guards, and all their Horſes in the Stables. Hereupon his Royal Highneſs thought fit to go to *Launceſton*, upon the Borders of *Cornwal*, to be farther from the Enemy, and commanded the Lord *Wentworth*, that all his Horſe ſhould be quartered on *Devonſhire* Side, fearing otherwiſe, that all the Trained Bands of *Cornwal* would run Home to ſave their Houſes from being plundered, to which the Lord *Wentworth*'s Troops were much addicted, who diſperſed themſelves for many Miles about the Country, as if no Enemy was near them, and were all commanded by Lord *Wentworth*, who challenged them by Deputation from the Lord General *Goring*; and the Lord *Wentworth* would ſubmit to no other Command but that of the Prince. The Miſchief which grew hereupon was much more viſible than the Remedy, when both Officers and Soldiers (by the Looſeneſs and Extravagancy of the Lord *Wentworth*'s Government) were glad to take any Occaſion of Excuſe for laying down their Arms: And whoever was fit would hardly undertake the Command of a diſſolute, undiſciplined, wicked, beaten Army, upon which he muſt engage his Honour. Howe-

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ver, ſome Reſolution was abſolutely neceſſary in that Conjuncture to be taken by the Prince, who thereupon declared the Lord *Hopton* ſhould take upon him the Care of the whole Army, as being General, and the Lord *Wentworth* ſhould be General of the Horſe, and Collonel *Webb* Major General, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* General of the Foot.

The Lord *Hopton* being entirely devoted to the King's Intereſt, ſubmitted to the Pleaſure of the Prince, and told his Royal Highneſs he would obey him, tho' he knew he muſt loſe his Honour: But ſince his Royal Highneſs thought it neceſſary to command him, he was moſt ready and willing to obey. There was no Suſpicion of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, becauſe he had been before under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*; but it was believed the Lord *Wentworth* (who had carried himſelf more high and imperiouſly ſince his diſorderly Retreat from *Aſhburton*, than before) would have refuſed; in which Caſe the Prince reſolved to commit the Lord *Wentworth*, and would have given his Command to the Lord *Capel:* But much contrary to Expectation, Sir *Richard Greenvil* refuſed, who was thereupon forthwith ſent Priſoner to the *Mount* in *Cornwal*, where he was, till the Enemy poſſeſſed the greateſt Part of that County; and then, that he might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy, the Prince permitted his being tranſported beyond Sea. And tho' the Lord *Wentworth* ſeemed much ſurprized with the Prince's Order, which he heard read

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read at the Council Table, desired time to consider of it till the next Day, that he might confer with his Officers; yet the Prince told him sharply, that he would not refer his Acts to be scann'd by his Officers, but that his Lordship should presently give his positive Answer, whether he would submit, or not? To which he submitted, and went that Night to his Quarters; at which neither the Prince, nor his Council, nor others, were very glad, but rather wished he would have obliged the Prince to make other Alterations, as the Prince intended, because he knew the Lord *Wentworth*'s Humour, that he would never chearfully obey.

The Prince then hearing of the Loss of *Dartmouth*, and every Day was News, and fearing the Loss of *Exeter*, it was thought fit the Lord *Hopton* should march back with his Army towards *Torrington*, and that the Prince should not hazard his Person any longer in that open Country, but should retire to *Truro*, near the nether End of *Cornwal*, for his greater Security.

Fairfax having taken *Dartmouth* by Storm, the Governour soon surrendered the Castle. He then came to *Exeter*, which he summoned, but having received a stout Answer from Sir *John Berkeley* the Governour, he left Sir *Hardress Waller* to finish that Work, and went with his Army after the Lord *Hopton*, who had fixed himself near *Torrington*, and had not been there above four or five Days, where he had made some Barricadoes and little Fastnesses, but he heard that General *Fairfax* was come within

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eight Miles of him. However, the Lord *Hopton*, for good Reaſons, thought it better to expect the Enemy there, than to retire into *Cornwal*, with the few that remained of the Trained Bands, who would immediately diſſolve, and run to their Houſes, and all would ſoon be deſtroyed without Fighting; and therefore his Lordſhip choſe rather ſtaying where he was, notwithſtanding the great Diſadvantage in Number, thinking he might there defend himſelf with greater Advantage, than in any other Place. Very ſharp Diſputes were on both Sides, and the Lord *Hopton*'s Foot behaved themſelves with ſuch Courage, that they maintained the Fight all that Day till Night, retiring ſtill towards *Torrington*; but at laſt, being overpowered by the Numbers of the Enemy, who were ſupplied from time to time with freſh Troops, they forced the Barricades, the Horſe with his Lordſhip neither charging nor making a Stand, but baſely ran away in great Confuſion, leaving their General, the Lord *Hopton*, who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horſe killed under him; but receiving a freſh Horſe, he was obliged to retire to *Stratton*, where he ſtayed ſome Days, till Twelve Hundred of his Foot came up to him. Upon his Lordſhip's retiring, the Enemy entered *Torrington*, and fell to Pillaging and Plundering the whole Town extreamly, but were ſoon ſtopt, by the Ammunition in the Church taking Fire, by what Accident was unknown, but it brought a diſmal Deſtruction both upon the

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the Soldiers and Burghers, there being near an Hundred Barrels of Powder in the Church, which made a terrible *Fracas* amongſt all People; which being finiſhed, and General *Fairfax* having a little ſettled *Torrington*, he marched after the Lord *Hopton* to *Stratton*, whereupon his Lordſhip retired farther to *Bodmin*, and thoſe Horſe commanded by the Lord *Wentworth* obſerved no Orders. The Prince went from *Truro* to *Pendennis* Caſtle, and the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* advertized his Royal Highneſs, that they had ſeverally received Intelligence of a Deſign to ſeize upon the Perſon of the Prince, who thereupon returned no more to *Truro*, but ſtayed at *Pendennis* Caſtle, and no Perſon knew the King's Pleaſure concerning the Prince, but the Lord *Culpepper* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and they two knowing only what was to be done, had no great Confidence that they ſhould have Reputation enough to go thro' with it, finding the Earl of *Berkſhire*, who was then Governour to the Prince, jealous of the Deſign of going into *France*, whatever they ſaid to the contrary, and the Governour of *Pendennis* Caſtle being old and fearful, they durſt not truſt him with the Secret: Whereupon they ſent Letters forthwith to the Lords *Hopton* and *Capel*, to know their Opinion, who both agreed, that the Prince was immediately, without Loſs of Time, to be tranſported to *Scilly*, which was a Part of *Cornwal*; and News being daily brought, that our Army was ſtill retiring, and

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General *Fairfax* advancing after it, Reſolution was therefore taken, that the Prince ſhould that Night embark for *Scilly*, a Ship being ready for him then in the Harbour; and the Governour and his Son (who was a worthy honeſt Gentleman) were called in to the Prince's Chamber, and made acquainted with it; and that Night the Prince went on Board, and arrived the next Night ſafe in *Scilly*; from whence the Lord *Culpepper* was immediately diſpatched to *France*, to acquaint the Queen with the Arrival of the Prince in that Iſland, and with the Wants and Incommodities of it, and that it was not ſo ſtrong as reported; and therefore his Royal Highneſs was ſoon embarked from thence for *France*, where they all ſafely arrived.

When the Prince was gone, and the Lord *Hopton* left General in *Cornwal*, he ſoon found the Soldiers, eſpecially the Horſe, could not be reſtrained from Plundering, and thereupon his Excellency called a Council of War, to conſider what was to be done. The Lord *Wentworth*, with the principal Officers, declared, that the Men would never be brought to fight, being taken in a worſe Trap, than they took *Eſſex*'s Army near *Foy*, and the Horſe Officers propoſed to ſend for a Treaty, to which they all agreed, except Major General *Webb*. The Lord *Hopton* told them, he could not conſent to a Treaty, without Leave from the Prince. But whilſt the Officers continued their Importunity, a Trumpeter arrived at the ſame time from

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from General *Fairfax*, with a Letter to the Lord *Hopton*, offering a Treaty, which his Lordſhip kept private: However, the General Officers all aſſembled, and declared, if the Lord *Hopton* would not conſent to a Treaty, they would treat themſelves; and that in the *Interim* they would neither keep Guards, nor do their Duty, the Enemy's Horſe every Day mingling with them, without any Act of Hoſtility, and bought ſeveral of our Soldiers Horſes. Then the Lord *Hopton* declared, that he would neither treat for himſelf, nor for any of the Garriſons, and gave the Horſe Leave to treat. Whereupon ſome Perſons were preſently appointed, and Articles were ſoon concluded, and the Army of Horſe was diſſolved; and every Horſeman who had not ſold his Horſe, had Twenty Shillings, with a Paſſport from General *Fairfax*, to go home to their Houſes, and there to live quietly, without engaging farther in the Wars; and many of our Soldiers had ſold and exchanged ſo many good Horſes, for pitiful Jades they received from the Enemy, that they would not give Twenty Shillings apiece for them; and ſo many Hundred of Soldiers went Home on Horſeback, with their Paſſes from the General, that the Lord *Hopton* was obliged to treat with the Enemy, tho' he would have no Article for himſelf, nor be mentioned in the Treaty: After which, his Lordſhip, with the Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Capel*, and Major General *Webb*, went to the *Mount* in *Cornwal*, from whence they were tranſported

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ted to *Scilly*, and from thence were embarqued for *France*.

The King being now reduced to the loweſt Condition that poſſibly could be, having loſt all his Forces, moſt of his Garriſons taken and yielded, and General *Fairfax* having cleared the Weſt, was marching to beſiege *Oxford*. The King being there, began to think of ſome Way for his Eſcape and Safety; and being treacherouſly invited by the *Scots*, to put himſelf under the Protection of their Army then at the Siege of *Newark*, his Majeſty went diſguiſed from *Oxford*, in *April* 1646, accompanied only with Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, a Groom of his Bed-chamber, and Mr. *Hudſon* a Miniſter, few or none elſe being acquainted with his Deſign; but all were amazed, when they heard he was arrived in the *Scotch* Camp, he having been before-hand promiſed Security for himſelf, and thoſe he brought with him, or that ſhould come to him, tho' they denied both in Word and Act, as plainly appeared by their delivering him to the Parliament, a Priſoner, for Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*: And that the *Scots* may be the better known, I ſhall give you their Character by one who was well acquainted with their wicked Principles. He tells us, *They are a People who delight to enſlave others, yet are of a ſlaviſh Condition themſelves; a People, whoſe Freedom is Service, whoſe Mercies are Cruelties, whoſe Religion is only Formality, whoſe Government is Tyranny, a Generation of Vipers and Hypocrites,*

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crites, whom no Oaths or Covenants can bind, no Courteſy or Civility oblige. Thus the King was delivered Priſoner to the Parliament by the *Scots*, and by the Parliament ſent Priſoner to *Holmby*; and from thence he was ſoon after forcibly taken away, and carried to the Army, by Cornet *Joyce*; who being aſked by the Parliament Commiſſioners, who then waited upon the King, by what Authority he did it? He anſwered, it was by the Pleaſure of the Army, and that the King ſhould be with them with Honour, and in Safety. This Action ſtartled the Parliament extreamly, who from this time began to ſurrender themſelves and their Power into the Hands of their own Army. The General, in his Letter to the Parliament, makes the King's Remove from *Holmby* to be by his own Conſent; tho' certainly it was not ſo, tho' it might be without the General's Knowledge: And the Lord *Dumfermling* acquainted the Parliament, that the King commanded him to tell them, that his Majeſty was unwillingly taken away, by a Party from the Army; and that he deſired both Houſes to maintain the Laws of the Land, and that he might be obliged to ſign many things in that Condition, and that he would not have them be believed, till they had farther Notice from his Majeſty.

Thus we ſee the Inconſtancy of Men, and the Uncertainty of worldly Affairs. The Officers and Soldiers of an Army, tho' never ſo ſucceſsful and well diſciplined, will, for want of

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of Action, fall into Discord, and Designs of Trouble: A victorious Army out of Employment, is very inclinable to assume Power over their Leaders. When the Parliament had Conquest and Success after their own Desires, yet they were strangely encumbered with the Mutinery of their Army on the one Side, and with discontented Petitions on the other, besides the Petulancy of many Pamphlets, which daily flew abroad against their Proceedings. Many believed there was some private Treaty at this time by some Officers of the Army with the King, and that Instructions were given for it by *Cromwell*, that if the King would assent to their Propositions, which were much lower than those of the Parliament, the Army would then settle the King upon his Throne. The King, in his own Judgment, seemed inclined to it, and therefore disdained the Parliament's Propositions, and would rely upon the Propositions of the Army, and urged a Treaty upon them. The *Scots* complain of the King's being taken from *Holmby* by Force, and would not apply to the Army, since it ought to be under the Command of the Parliament: They declared, that their Stability and Happiness did much depend upon the Safety and Preservation of the King's Person, and that they would endeavour to compose the unhappy Differences; and therefore desire the Propositions may be proceeded upon by the mutual Consent of both Kingdoms, and desire there might be a present Treaty with the King, and that he might come to *London* with Safety,

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Safety, Honour, and Freedom. The King being then passionately sensible of the languishing and unsettled State of the Kingdom, and of their great Distractions, pressed earnestly for a Peace, and was most willing to testify to all the World his Readiness to contribute his utmost Endeavours for it: But the Parliament then thought the King was too much in the Army's Interest, who were then contriving their main Design, of coming up to *London*, to curb both Parliament and City, and to make them act according to their Prescriptions.

About this time the Agitators were set up, who were some Soldiers elected out of each Regiment of Horse and Foot, to meet and consult by that Name, who undertook to understand and regulate the chief Affairs of the Army. These Men were very busy, and the King was privately informed, whether by Design of the Army, was not known, but supposed by most to be so, that the Agitators intended some Violence to the King's sacred Person; and therefore the King was privately perswaded to make an Escape, if possible, and contrived by Sir *John Berkeley*, Collonel *Leg*, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, who provided a Ship at *Southampton*, and Horses were to be ready at *Hampton* Ferry, on the other Side, for the King's Escape: And that which gave most Suspicion that the Army designed the King's Escape, was, that Collonel *Whaley* (who had the Guard of the King's Person) did that very Day give the King a Letter, which he said was put into his Hand

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by an unknown Person, giving a blind Account of the Agitators Intention to take away the King's Life for the Good of the Nation; and that very Night *Cromwell* sent a Letter to inform the Parliament that the King was escaped, the Manner thus.

The Officers who attended the King, wondering he came not forth of his Chamber to Supper, having been long in, writing, they went into his Chamber, and missed him, within half an Hour after he was gone; and his Cloak was carelessly cast upon the Ground, in his Way to the Water-side; and this following Letter was left upon the Table, written with his own Hand, to be communicated to the Parliament, in these Words following.

That Liberty the King now generally pretended to, and aimed at, was as necessary for Kings as any other: That he had a long Time endured Captivity, hoping it might tend to the Settlement of a good Peace; but finding the contrary, and the Unfixedness of the Army, and new Guards set upon him, he had withdrawn himself: That wherever he should be, he would earnestly labour for settling a good Peace, and to prevent the Effusion of more Blood; and if he might be heard with Freedom Honour, and Safety, he would instantly break through his Cloud of Retirement, and shew himself ready to be Pater Patriæ. Upon reading this Letter, and *Cromwell*'s Information, it was ordered in Parliament, That it should be Loss of Life and Estate for any one to conceal or detain the King's

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King's Perſon, and not to diſcover it to both Houſes of Parliament.

Upon the King's Eſcape the Parliament ſent all Ways to find him; but in the dark, rainy, cloudy Night the King was loſt in *Windſor* Foreſt, and paſſing in the Morning thro' *Farnham* to the Sea-ſide, his Majeſty miſſed his Deſign of going to *Jerſey*, the Ship failing to be at the Place, if any Place was really appointed which was promiſed; and the Want of it cauſed ſome Reflections upon the Undertaker, who was very well known to me. The King fearing a Diſcovery of him could by no Means be prevented, it was reſolved, that the King and Collonel *Leg* ſhould lodge that Night at *Tedſworth*, at the Houſe of the Counteſs Dowager of *Southampton*, which was near the Sea; and that the other two ſhould ferry over to the Iſle of *Wight*, to find Collonel *Hammond*, under whoſe Aſſurance, for his Brother's ſake, Dr. *Hammond*, the King hoped for ſome Friendſhip and Fidelity. This Deſign was accordingly put in Execution; and Sir *John Berkeley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* were both told by the King, that unleſs Collonel *Hammond* gave his Oath and Faith of Preſervation, Protection, Secrecy, and Freedom to the King's Perſon at all Times, they ſhould not diſcover any more, than ſignify in general the King's Eſcape from the imminent Danger of Aſſaſſination: That the King's Deſire led him to caſt himſelf upon Collonel *Hammond* for Protection, which if he ſhould refuſe, and ſecure the Perſons of Sir

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John Berkeley and *Ashburnham*, the King and *Leg* (by their not returning at the Time prefixed) might have Opportunity to dispose of themselves otherwise. These two being dispatch'd, the King sent *Leg* to the Countess, to tell her, that a Person of Quality, her dear Friend, desired the Privacy of her House that Night, without Discovery; to which she readily consented. On *Sunday* Morning the two Messengers got into the Island, and met Collonel *Hammond* on his Way towards *Newport*, whom they acquainted with the Business. The Collonel told them, he wished the King's Safety as his own Soul, that he should not be inquisitive where the King was, but were he in his Custody, his Oath and Interest to the Parliament being in Ballance, he should be safe from Violence; but for the Freedom and Liberty of his Person, he could not answer it to his Superiours. This Answer tho' not satisfactory, nor according to their Commission; yet they, being loath to be taken into Custody, or for what other Reason none can tell, came over with the Collonel and a Guard to the House of the Countess; and *Ashburnham* went up Stairs to the King's Chamber, and told the King Collonel *Hammond* was below at Supper, and had given Assurance of Honour for his Majesty's Safety, but not of Liberty for his Person; which the King hearing, in Passion struck his Hand upon his Breast, and replied to *Ashburnham*; *And is this all? Then I am betrayed! Ashburnham* and *Berkeley*, sorry for their great Misadvisedness, would have made

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ſome deſperate Attempt to have killed *Hammond*, which the King would not admit of; and in this Extremity, with a ſeeming Willingneſs, the King went over with them and with Collonel *Hammond* to *Carisbrook* Caſtle. Collonel *Hammond* immediately acquaints the Parliament with the King's being there, who forthwith vote the King ſhould ſtay there; that none who had bore Arms againſt the Parliament ſhould ſtay in the Iſland, excepting ſuch Inhabitants as had compounded; that no Delinquent or Foreigner ſhould be admitted to the King's Preſence without Leave of Parliament; that thoſe Perſons who attended the King thither ſhould be ſent to the Parliament, which Collonel *Hammond* refuſed; and alſo complained, that the Conditions for the King were not ſuitable to his Quality. Thus that unhappy King fell out of one Trap into another; and ſends his Meſſage to the Parliament, why he did not receive their Propoſitions for Peace, which they ſent him to *Hampton-Court*, becauſe the Commiſſioners from *Scotland* preſented him the ſame Day with a Declaration againſt thoſe Propoſitions, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Here we may take notice of the perplexed Condition of the Parliament; the Army raiſed, commiſſioned, and paid by them, making War againſt them, and with their Swords in Hand controul their Maſters, and had a Deſign to carry away the King from the Iſle of *Wight*, but were prevented by the General; the City, the Parliament's old Friends and Aſſiſtants,

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are averſe towards them, and queſtion their Integrity, reproach them, and would caſt them off; the King writes to the Parliament, and taxes them for not anſwering his laſt Meſſage, and earneſtly preſſes for a preſent Treaty, that Peace might be ſettled, and lays the Retarding it upon them: The *Scotch* Commiſſioners declare a joint Intereſt with the Parliament, for ſettling a Peace in both Kingdoms, proteſt againſt the four Bills ſent to the King, preſs for a preſent Treaty at *London*, ſaying, *Let that be given to* God *which is* God's, *and that to* Cæſar *which is* Cæſar's, and put them in Mind of their profeſſed Loyalty. Collonel *Hammond* has more ſtrict Orders to ſecure the King, and ſeveral of the King's Servants which attended him are diſcharged: Then the Parliament ſend Commiſſioners to the King, who return without Satisfaction; and after a long Debate, the prevailing Party in the Houſe of Commons vote no more Addreſſes to the King, and no Meſſage or Letters to be received from him; and that it ſhould be High Treaſon for any to deliver any Meſſage to the King, or receive any from him, without the Leave of both Houſes of Parliament; and Collonel *Hammond*, with Sir *William Conſtable*, had Orders to place and diſplace ſuch Perſons about the King as they thought fit, which highly diſcontented the King; but the Governour ſaid, he had Orders from the Parliament for it, whom he muſt obey.

Soon after this the General preſents an Addreſs to the Parliament, in the Name of the

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whole Army, that they would ſtand by the Parliament, in making no more Addreſſes to the King; and that they would intirely ſubmit to the Government of the Parliament. Thus they are quickly made Friends again; and the Army had the Thanks of the Houſes for their Addreſs; who ordered the King's Houſhold ſhould be diſſolved, and the Navy no longer be called the King's Navy: Whereupon the *Hollanders* (as they had Reaſon) refuſed to ſtrike Sail, as being the elder State. Two Earls were named to go to *Scotland*, to acquaint that Kingdom with what the Parliament had done, and a Declaration was publiſhed for no more Addreſſes to the King, wherein all the Miſcarriages of the Government were named, from the King's firſt coming to the Crown.

Thus the Parliament and Army were made Friends, and well fixed again, by the Cunning of of *Cromwell* and his Party; but then the Apprentices, with others in *London*, made an Inſurrection againſt the Parliament and Army, and great Preparations were making in *Scotland* for a War, declaring they would reſcue the King from Impriſonment, which was done contrary to the Reſolution of both Kingdoms; and that the King might come to one of his own Houſes near *London*, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety: And Information came from *Scotland*, that the King's Party there was very ſtrong, and carried all, and that there would be a general Riſing in that Kingdom, for Religion, King, and Church; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, by Order of their Parliament,

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ment, demanded, that the King might come to ſome of his Courts near *London*, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, and that a perſonal Treaty be had with his Majeſty, and that the Independant Schiſmatick Army might be diſbanded, which governed all as they pleaſed. Whereupon the Parliament returned Anſwer, That they would keep the Covenant and the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, and that they would be ready to join with *Scotland* in the Propoſitions preſented to the King at *Newmarket*.

About this time, or a little before, the Duke of *York* made his Eſcape into *Holland*, and was very tenderly and kindly received by the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, at whoſe Eſcape the Parliament was very much troubled; and now Petitions came from ſeveral Parts of *England*, and Riſings were in ſeveral Counties, and the People in general were weary of the War, and would have a perſonal Treaty with the King: And Riſings were not only at Land, but Information came, that ſeveral Ships were revolted from *Rainſborough*, whom they had ſet on Shore, and ſent for the Earl of *Warwick* to command them, who was thereupon declared Admiral. Thus a new War was begun, and great Diviſions and Perplexities were in Parliament; and yet the Riſings in ſeveral Parts for the King not being well concerted, were ſtill quaſhed, and did only ſerve to unite the Party ſtronger againſt the King. However, the Parliament ſeeing that the People's Hearts were gene-

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generally ſet againſt them, and that the revolted Ships at *Deal* would not own them, finding their Backwardneſs for a perſonal Treaty with the King, and that the City of *London* and Officers of the Trained Bands, prayed the King might be brought to *London*, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, to treat with the Parliament, and that the City would engage for the Security of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and would alſo undertake to keep the Parliament ſafe from all Tumults and Mutinery, and that they would defend the King and Parliament in the Treaty, and defray the Charge of the Guards during the Treaty, and find a convenient Place for the Treaty; with many other Particulars: The Parliament hereupon began to think of a Treaty, and to ſet aſide their Votes of Non-Addreſſes. In the mean time, theſe ſeveral Petitions for Peace encouraged the Duke of *Buckingham*, with his Brother, with the Earls of *Holland* and *Peterborough*, to a Riſing about *Kingſton*, where they were ſoon purſued, and the Earl of *Holland* (who had formerly had a great Hand in bringing Straits upon the King and Kingdom, in the Beginning of the War) now ſeeing the Parliament backward to a perſonal Treaty, hoped they ſhould be able in the End to bring the Parliament to Reaſon: But the Parliament's Army being old Soldiers, proſperous in their Attempts, and well provided with all Neceſſaries, it was a deſperate Attempt to make Head againſt them, without having before concerted all things well; which was a great

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great Prejudice to the King's Affairs, there being ſmall Truſt to be given to People's Promiſes in ſuch Occaſions, who would not ſtir, unleſs they ſaw the Tide turning with ſome previous Succeſs, which was at that time very unhappy to the King's Affairs in all Parts; tho' nothing could be more honourable, juſt, and pious, than to endeavour reſcuing our Country from the Miſery and Slavery it lay under; and our Sins were certainly the Cauſe it took Effect, joined with the Miſmanagement of thoſe who undertook it, without having firſt well concerted for the carrying on that Deſign: So that the Earl of *Holland*'s Party was totally defeated, himſelf with many others taken Priſoners, and the Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and others killed. Then Duke *Hamilton* enters *England* with an Army, and all joining with him are declared Rebels. Here is a ſtrange Turn of Affairs, to which all human Actions are ſubject. Great Endeavours were formerly uſed, to bring in the *Scots* to aſſiſt the Parliament, and now they invade *England* with a conſiderable Army; they joined before with the Parliament againſt the King, and now they took with the King againſt the Parliament. The People of this World are like the Sea, ſtill ebbing and flowing, always in an uncertain Motion, conſtant in nothing but Inconſtancy.

The Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York* did at this time come to *Yarmouth* Road with divers Ships, and landed ſome Men, but were beaten by the Parliament's Horſe, and ſeveral taken Priſo-

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Priſoners; but the Town reſcued them, and the reſt of his Royal Highneſs's Men got into the Town. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* was on Ship-board, and commanded the Prince's Fleet, having quitted the Parliament, upon their declining a perſonal Treaty; and when the Earl of *Warwick* came near him with the Parliament Fleet, the Lord *Willoughby* was very earneſt to have fought, upon Aſſurance that ſeveral in the Fleet would have revolted to his Royal Highneſs; but thoſe that were about the Prince diſſwaded him from Fighting, pretending great Danger to his Highneſs's Perſon, and ſo they carried it: Whereas, in all Probability, (as the Seamens Affections then ſtood) the Parliament's Fleet would have been endangered. The Prince then ſtopped ſeveral Merchants Ships, and ſent to the Merchants Adventurers at *London*, for Twenty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, to releaſe their Ships; and that he was come with that Fleet, to endeavour to releaſe his Majeſty from his Impriſonment.

The Parliament ſeeing the General Inclination of the People was for a Treaty, they fell from their Vote of Non-Addreſſes, and ordered a perſonal Treaty with the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, in what Place there his Majeſty ſhould appoint, who well approved of *Newport*, and received the Parliament Commiſſioners with much Chearfulneſs, declaring, that no Man deſired a Peace ſo much as he; and that he would hearken to any Motion that might conduce to ſo good an

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End, and that whoever gained by the Troubles, he was ſure to be a Loſer; and challenged all Men to produce the leaſt Colour of Reaſon, that he was againſt the Treaty. He then ſaid, if it was Peace they deſired, he had ſhewed them the Way, by a juſt Compliance with all their Intereſts. If they deſired Plenty and Happineſs, they were the inſeparable Effects of Peace. If it was Security, he offered the Militia for all his Time. If it was a Liberty of Conſcience, he that wanted it moſt, was moſt willing to give it. If it was the right Adminiſtration of Juſtice, all Officers and Offices of Truſt he left to the Choice of the Parliament. If they would have frequent Parliaments, he fully concurred therewith. If they demanded the Arrears of the Army which fought againſt him, he fully agreed they ſhould be paid: So that all the World might ſee his unwearied Endeavours for Peace.

The Lords and Commons agreed, that the Vote againſt farther Addreſſes ſhould be recalled: That the King had choſen *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, to treat with the Parliament's Commiſſioners, and all ſuch Perſons ſhould be admitted, as his Majeſty ſhould think fit to ſend for: That Collonel *Hammond*'s Inſtructions for keeping the King ſhould be repealed, taking the King's own Engagement for his going abroad in the Iſland, and Horſes, Coaches, and Money, both for the publick, and the King's private Uſe, were ſent to the Iſle of *Wight*, where the King kept a Faſt for a Bleſſing upon the Treaty,

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Treaty, and agreed in every thing, except Religion, wherein he let the Commiſſioners know how far he could condeſcend. Some of the Commiſſioners then begged of the King upon their Knees, with Tears in their Eyes, as to the Propoſition touching Religion, but Matter of Conſcience prevailed more with the King than all their Arguments; of which they gave an Account to the Parliament, who thereupon voted, that the King's Conceſſions as to Religion, the Church, and *Ireland*, were unſatisfactory. However, the Houſe of Commons voted, that a Committee ſhould draw up ſomething for the King's coming to *London*, with Inſtructions for the Terms of his Majeſty's being in Freedom, Honour, and Safety: That the Committee ſhould alſo conſider of the King's Deſires concerning his Revenues: That an Act of Oblivion ſhould be preſented to the King, to be paſſed with ſuch Limitations as ſhall be agreed by both Houſes. The Houſe of Commons vote likewiſe, that the King ſhould come to *London*, ſo ſoon as the Conceſſions in the Treaty were agreed, and that the King ſhould have his Lands and Revenues made good to him, according to the Laws; and that what he ſhould paſs away of his legal Right, he ſhould have Allowance in Compenſation: And that an Act of Oblivion ſhould be agreed upon. And both Houſes agreed to all theſe Votes, and, in fine, the Parliament voted, that the King's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions of the Parliament upon the Treaty, were ſufficient Grounds for ſettling the Peace

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Peace of the Kingdom, and they named a Committee to go to the General and Head Quarters, to confer with the General and Officers of the Army, for the Continuance of a good Correſpondence betwixt the Parliament and Army.

But whilſt theſe things were doing, Collonel *Hammond* ſends a Letter to the Parliament, with one incloſed from the General unto him, requiring him to repair to his Excellency at the Head Quarters, and that Collonel *Ewre* was appointed to take Charge of the King in the Iſle of *Wight*. Hereupon the Commons voted, That Collonel *Hammond* ſhould ſtay in the Iſle of *Wight*, and continue his Charge, and that the Admiral ſhould forthwith ſend Ships for Security of the Iſle of *Wight*, and that they ſhould obey Collonel *Hammond:* But a Meſſenger brought Word, that Collonel *Hammond* was upon his Way to *Windſor*, according to the General's Order, and that Collonel *Ewre* had ſecured his Majeſty's Perſon, and removed him to *Hurſt* Caſtle, a pitiful Place, and moſt peſtilential Air. Hereupon the Parliament ſent a Letter to the General, acquainting him, that thoſe Orders and Inſtructions from him to Collonel *Ewre*, for ſecuring the King's Perſon, were contrary to their Reſolution, and freſh Inſtructions were ſent again by the Parliament to Collonel *Hammond*, to return, and attend his Charge in the Iſle of *Wight*; and that it was the Pleaſure of the Parliament, that his Excellency ſhould recal his Orders, and that Collonel *Hammond* ſhould again attend his Charge;

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Charge; but Collonel *Hammond* ſent Word to the Parliament, that he was detained at *Windſor*, and that Collonel *Ewre* had the Charge of the King. At the ſame time the General wrote to the Lord Mayor of *London*, that he was upon his March with his Army towards *London*, and demanded Fourty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling* immediately of the City, and that he would quarter his Army in the void Houſes near the City, as *Whitehall*, *St. James*, the *Mews*, *York Houſe*, &c.

Upon this Advance of the Army, all Perſons were full of Perplexity, not knowing the End of it. The Parliament then declared the ſeizing of the King's Royal Perſon was without their Advice, and againſt their Conſent; and the Houſe being to ſit the next Day, Collonel *Pride*, with ſeveral of his Regiments, ſtood in the Court of Requeſts, upon the Stairs in the Lobby before the Houſe of Commons, *Pride* having a Paper of Names in his Hand, and the Lord *Gray* of *Grooby* ſtood by him, to inform him who the Members were; and *Pride* ſeized upon ſuch as the Lord directed by his Note, and ſent them away with Soldiers, by ſpecial Order from the General and Council of Officers. The Houſe of Commons being informed of this, ſent their Serjeant at Arms to the Members ſeized upon, to let them know, it was the Pleaſure of the Houſe, that they ſhould forthwith attend the Service of the Houſe, but they were ſtill detained by the Guard of Officers.

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The Army having thus ejected the greateſt and beſt Part of the Houſe of Commons, brought the reſt ſo to their Will, whom they permitted to ſit, that they acted nothing but by their Dictates, and in purſuance of their Deſigns, which were to ſubvert Monarchy, and to bury it in one Grave with the King; and having contrived with this Juncto of the Houſe of Commons, how to bring the King to his End, which they ſoon reſolved upon, with a ſtrange unheard of Impudence, in a pretended Way of Juſtice, (whoſe Death the Juncto had long before reſolved upon) and their Deſign being now ripe, a Reſolution was taken, which amazed the whole Chriſtian World, of which paſt Ages had never any Precedent, nor may any future Age take Example by this moſt barbarous and horrid Cruelty, to bring a juſt King, their lawful Sovereign (who prized his Subjects Liberties and Welfare before his own Life) to be adjudged by his moſt rebellious Subjects, and condemned to die, by a pretended Legality and Cloak of Juſtice, with mock Formalities of Law, and Villainy of ſo deep a Dye, that all the World bluſh at, being the Maſterpiece of all Iniquities, which they thought better than to have poiſoned their King in *Carisbrook* Caſtle.

And when the nauſeous peſtilential Air of *Hurſt* Caſtle effected not what they deſigned, then they carried him with a ſtrong Guard to *Windſor*, in order to his intended Tryal, denying him not only the Ceremony of the Knee, but even the common Civility of the Hat.

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The King being brought from *Windsor* to *St. James*, their Juncto of Parliament proceed to Votes in order to his Tryal, and declare, That by the fundamental Laws of the Land, it was Treason in the King of *England*, to levy War against his Parliament and Kingdom, and all the Blood spilt was by the Juncto laid upon the King, who was the greatest Sufferer in the War, which was made and begun upon him; and what the King did, was purely in his own Defence, who endeavoured to stop that Flux of Blood, by a Treaty with his two Houses of Parliament, which was agreed upon, but hindered by the imperious Army, who were so audacious, as to style the King, in their unparallelled rebellious Remonstrance, the Kingdom's capital Enemy, who was formerly condemned for yielding too little to his Parliament, and was now to be condemned by the Army, for yielding too much: He was formerly imprisoned for making War, and now was to be condemned for making Peace: He was at first condemned for having evil Counsellours, and was now to be condemned, having no Counsel; and all this to be done by Wolves in Sheeps Clothing, who pretended only Zeal, when their Hearts were filled with Blood, and were resolved from Servants to become Masters, to bring in Democracy, by abolishing Monarchy, declaring in their Charge, by that impudent Arch-Traitor *Bradshaw*, That the King of *England* is entrusted by the People with a limited Power to govern according to the Laws of the

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Land, and not otherwiſe; and that by his Truſt, Oath, and Office, he is obliged to uſe the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for Preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; and where the King fails in any of theſe, and rules and governs according to his Will, he thereby commits Treaſon, and may be impeached as a Traitor and Murderer: A Doctrine never heard of before, even amongſt the moſt barbarous Nations, it evidently appearing, that the Authority of Kings is immediately derived from God, and not conferred upon them as a Truſt from the People. They are called the *Miniſters of God, and the Powers that be are ordained of God.*

When God firſt ſubjected his own People to the Government of Kings, the People had nothing to do in conferring the Power. *Moſes* was made King and Ruler by God himſelf; ſo *Joſhua* and the *Judges*; for ſo long Theocracy did continue viſible amongſt Men: And when the People deſired a King, God was not angry with them for deſiring it, for he had before told them, that they ſhould have a King, but for ſome Irregularities in the Manner of their deſiring it; neither was the King choſen by the People, but by Lot, and no Hand of the People in chuſing him. *David* was made King by God's immediate Choice; but after him the Government deſcended by Succeſſion: And no Hiſtory either ſacred or profane, can ſhew any Footſteps, that the People did entruſt their Power to their Kings; which Suppoſition is built

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built upon the mere Strength of their own Imagination. And if we take a View of all the Ways whereby Princes aſcend to the Throne, it will appear they are but few; and yet in none of them the People confer the Power on the King.

Firſt, by Deſcent and Succeſſion, as in *England*, the People do not confer the Power. I know very well, at the King's Coronation, the Conſent of the People is demanded; yet the King is King to all Intents and Purpoſes before his Coronation. Beſides, all the People are not ſummoned, nor any conſiderable Part of them appear at the Coronation: And if any ſhould reject his Prince, that would not hinder the Coronation, which is barely a thing of Courſe, and does not deduce the King's Power from the People. Nay, ſome Kings have deferred their Coronation, being only a Ceremony. In the next Place, if a King gets the Crown by Conqueſt, no Man can ſay, he receives the Crown by Conſent of the People, tho' there be a tacit Conſent in their yielding him Obedience. As for thoſe who ſurprize a Kingdom by Fraud, they may impoſe upon the People, ſo as to gain a formal Conſent, yet there is not a real Conſent in thoſe that are thus cajoled by the People, who had a Hand in bringing them in.

There are ſome that come to the Crown by Election, and here the People think the King derives his Power from them, believing the Throne was vacant, and make Stipulations with him that is to govern: But we muſt conſider,

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that there is much Difference betwixt designing the Person, and conferring the Power; the former is from them that chuse, the latter by no means. The Dean and Chapter of a Cathedral, by the King's Leave, chuse a Bishop, *Sede vacante*; this Choice designs the Person, but does not confer the Power, which is afterwards given him in his Consecration. The Aldermen and Commons of a City do yearly chuse their Mayors; this Choice shews the Person, but does not confer the Power, which he hath by the King's Charter. When the Electors chuse an Emperor, or the States of *Poland* chuse their King, they only design his Person, his Power is not from them, but immediately from God. But supposing that, in the first Institution of Monarchy, the People did confer the Power upon the Prince, it doth not therefore follow, that it lyes in the Power of the People to revoke it; tho' this was unlawfully maintained against King *Charles* I. and since by some People holding the same Principles, who would have the King's Power to be a Trust committed to him by the People, and so revocable; which is a very false Supposition, and the Superstructure upon it must needs fall in Course; and yet supposing it was true, the Revocableness does not follow.

Both Law and Reason tell us, that what is absolutely conferred in any Compact, is not to be revoked. When the Aldermen and Common Council have chosen a Lord Mayor, it does not lye in their Power to reassume the Trust into their own Hands: When the Knights of the

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Shire are choſen to ſit in Parliament, it does not lye in the Freeholders Power afterwards to recal their Truſt: They might have forbore to commit the Truſt, but they cannot recal it. Then the Accountableneſs of Princes to their People, in their Repreſentatives, hath paſſed for current Doctrine in the laſt Age, by Impriſoning, Trying, and Condemning their lawful King; whereas no earthly Power can juſtly call their King in Queſtion, God Almighty being the only Ruler of Princes, and to him alone they owe their Accounts, by whom all Kings reign, and cannot be called to any Account in this World, but by the Stings of their own Conſciences: And it is a plain Contradiction, after we have owned the King to be Supreme, to affirm there is any other Superior to him, that can call him to an Account; it being a known Maxim, *Par in parem non habet Poteſtatem.* If then the King be Supreme, and there be others in his Kingdom that are Superior to him, then he is Supreme and not Supreme: But the *Engliſh* pretend they are under Stipulations of a conditional Obedience, provided the King maintains their Rights; ſo that the King not performing the former, they are not bound to the latter: Whereas we are certainly bound to Subjection irreſpectively, to a *Caligula*, as well as to an *Auguſtus*; to cruel *Nero* and *Domitian*, as well as to courteous *Veſpaſian*; to the Apoſtate *Julian*, as well as to Chriſtian *Conſtantine*, becauſe they have equally their Power from God.

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The *Jews* were commanded to pray for the Prosperity of their Governours, and the Peace of *Babylon*, and for the Lives of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Balthazar*; and this was performed in the first and purest Ages. They were to pray for their Emperors and Kings irrespectively to their Religion, or Opinions in it, even for their Heathen Persecutors: And if they must pray for them, they must not certainly take up Arms against them: And if we must not touch the Lord's Anointed, our Assassination of him is contrary to our not touching him. *Tertullian* is certainly a competent Witness for *Septimius Severus*, and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*; for *Valerianus* and *Gallienus*; the *Gallican* Church prayed for *Alericus*, the Eastern for the Emperor *Valerius*, an *Arian*, and for *Theodosius* the Younger, and *Valentinian* III. the one a *Nestorian*, the other a dissolute Person; and their Prayers were, that God would grant them long Life and a secure Reign, and preserve their Families in Safety, and their Government in Peace; which are perfectly inconsistent with Attempts on their Persons, or Practices to disturb the Tranquillity of their Government. The very endeavouring it, is perfectly opposite to the Tenor of the Old Testament, and of the Gospel. King *David* committed those two great Sins, of Murder and Adultery, either of which singly was capital by the *Jewish* Law; and yet we do not find him called to an Account for them. Nay, in his penitential Confession, he only looks up to God,

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God, and says, *Against thee only have I sinned:* Which is an Instance by which all Men should be guided. Besides, for the People to have a Power to call their Prince to an Account, is highly inconsistent with the Law of Nature, and is against all Reason and Conscience; for by this the People are both Complainants, Witnesses, Jury and Judges; a thing never heard of in any judicial Proceeding: And yet that hellish Juncto of Parliament made a High Court of Justice (as they called what was the Height of Injustice, and the utmost Wickedness) to Try and Condemn their lawful Sovereign: Such was the monstrous Impiety of the last Age! when that incomparable Monarch, the Honour of the World, was forced to bow down his Head, and fall a sad Sacrifice to the Fury of the most barbarous Villains that ever appeared upon the Stage of this World, when Men threw away a Felicity always to be reflected on, but never to be recovered, to the World's End.

Thus fell the best of Kings, whose Greatness of Judgment, as well as that of his Condition, did eminently appear at his Death, in the Clemency of his Nature, even in pardoning the Treason and Malice of his most inveterate Enemies, who were not satisfied with his Blood, but unhinged the best of Governments, and brought upon the *English* Nation nothing but Confusion and Misery. And having thus murdered their King, they took Possession of his Kingdom, disinherited (as much as in them lay) the lawful Heir, and by their Proclamation declared themselves a Free

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State. But before I go farther, give me Leave to give you this King's Character.

He was no great Scholar, his Learning conſiſted more in what he had ſeen, than what he had ſtudied: His Judgment was good, and better than moſt of his Miniſters. The Misfortune was, that he ſeldom depended upon it, unleſs in Matters of his own Religion, wherein he was always very ſtiff. His Arguing was beyond Meaſure civil and patient. He would ſeldom or never contradict any Man angrily, but would always ſay, by your Favour, I think otherwiſe, or, I am not of your Opinion. He would diſcourage any bold Addreſs that was made to him, and did not love Strangers; and whilſt he was upon his Throne, he would permit none to enter abruptly with him into Buſineſs. He was wiſer than moſt of his Council, yet ſo unhappy as ſeldom to follow his own Judgment. He would always (whilſt in his Court, be addreſſed to by proper Miniſters, and ſtill kept up the Dignity of his Court, limiting all Perſons to Places ſuitable to their Employments and Quality, and would there only hear them, unleſs he called for them in particular. Beſides the Ladies and Women who attended the King, he permitted no Miniſter to have his Wife in Court. He ſpake but ſlowly, and would ſtammer a little, when he began to ſpeak eagerly. He ſeldom or never made his own Diſpatches, till his latter Days, but would ſtill mend and alter them; and to that Purpoſe he would often ſay, he found it better to be a Cobler,

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Cobler, than a Shoemaker. As to his Religion, he was very positive in it, and would bear no Arguments against it.

When the Juncto had finished their sad Tragedy, we soon saw what followed their dismal Actings; for, having got the supreme Power into their Hands, they were resolved to over-act all those who should oppose their tyrannical Proceedings: Neither could there be then a greater Crime than Loyalty, whilst That was only made Treason; and the Servants having got the Sword into their Hands, they resolved to improve it to their Security: And having then a Set of Men fit for their Turns, which were the Juncto, they would be sure that none of those who concluded the late King's Concessions a sufficient Ground for Settlement of Peace, should sit amongst them, but should be voted out of the House, and be no more admitted to sit as Members: And having thus settled their own House, they, in the next Place, fell upon the House of Lords, and vote, That the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous, and by an Act of theirs did abolish it; but yet, that they might have the Privilege to be elected Knights of the Shire and Burgesses; which was first willingly embraced by the Earl of *Pembroke* (who would play at small Game rather than sit out) but the rest of the Lords, sensible of that strange Alteration of the fundamental Government of the Nation, published their Protestation against it, in the Name of all the Peers of the Realm, being a treasonable Pro-

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Proceeding, and tyrannical Uſurpation, of ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, being a few inſolent and traitorous Members of that Houſe, while the better and greateſt Part of the Houſe were forcibly detained from thence. But it was in vain to think, by Proteſtation, to reduce thoſe Men to Reaſon, who had Swords by their Sides, and were reſolved to overcome, or periſh, in Maintainance of their uſurped Authority, and aboliſhing whatever was right, as moſt likely to oppoſe their Intruſion: And therefore they declared, in the Name of the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament (tho' they were not the tenth Part of their Number) that they found by Experience, the Office of a King in *England*, and to have the Power thereof in any one ſingle Perſon, was unneceſſary, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, Religion, and the publick Intereſt of the Nation, and therefore ſhould be aboliſhed: And to the End that all Perſons might more readily yield Obedience to their uſurped Power, they were abſolved from all Oaths made to their late Sovereign and his Poſterity.

Thus this ſmall Part of a ſeeming Parliament (which was actually diſſolved by the King's Death) acted by the Dictates of the Council of War, for the Juncto were only the Wheels of the Government, guided by the Will and Pleaſure of the Army; or rather their Tools by which they acted, who yet thought themſelves not ſtrong enough, till a third Power was ſet up by them, to ſtrengthen them in their

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Uſurpation. This they called a Council of State, conſiſting of Forty Perſons, moſt of which were principal Officers of the Army, to whom Power was given to ſettle the Militia of *England* and *Ireland*, and to diſpoſe of it from time to time, as they ſhould think fit, and that they ſhould execute their Powers for a Year; and an Oath was made, whereby each Member admitted to that Council, was to declare, That he approved what the Houſe of Commons and their High Court of Juſtice had done againſt the late King, and their aboliſhing the Kingly Government and Houſe of Lords; and that the legiſlative and ſupreme Power was wholly in the Houſe of Commons. This Oath Twenty One of the Forty they had named refuſed to take, but their Number was ſoon filled up by them of as large Conſciences as themſelves.

About this time, *Cromwell* having been victorious in *Ireland*, and almoſt conquered all there, left his Son-in-Law, *Ireton*, Deputy in *Ireland*, to perfect the Conqueſt of that Kingdom, and comes over himſelf to *London*, where he was much careſſed by all the Officers of the new Commonwealth (for ſo the Juncto had declared *England* to be) and now the Juncto fearing leſt *Charles* II. ſhould join Intereſt with the *Scots*, they provided againſt a Storm from thence, and ordered a conſiderable Body of their Troops to lye upon the Borders near *Scotland*; and having an Account that the *Scots* had modelled an Army, with which they were preparing to enter *England*, *Cromwell*, with ſome other General Officers,

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Officers, were appointed to meet and confer with General *Fairfax*, and to perſwade him, that the *Engliſh* Army then upon the Borders of *Scotland*, might forthwith enter into that Kingdom, and carry the War into their Country: But the General would not be ſatisfied in his Conſcience to do that, being of the ſame Religion with them, notwithſtanding all the Arguments that *Cromwell* and the other Officers could uſe to perſwade him. In fine, he told them plainly, he would rather lay down his Commiſſion than agree with them (which was indeed the great Deſign of thoſe Officers that then met) and ſo they would preſs the General no farther, whoſe Commiſſion was preſently accepted by the Juncto of Parliament, and *Cromwell* was made forthwith General in *Fairfax*'s Place; and being General, he readily marched with his Army Northwards, to the great Amazement of the *Scots*, who fearing an Invaſion, alledged the Covenant and the Articles of Pacification, by which they ought not to be invaded without three Months Warning.

The firſt News that General *Cromwell* heard from *Scotland* was, that King *Charles* II. was landed there, and received as their King; and that it was reſolved to invade *England*, if the *Engliſh* Army did not invade them: But that the *Scots* firſt thought fit to ſend to the Juncto of Parliament, to know whether the *Engliſh* Marching towards *Scotland* was in a Defenſive or an Offenſive Way? Whereupon the Juncto publiſhed, in a Declaration, their Reaſons for their Army marching

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marching Northwards. The *Scots* forthwith chose a particular Council, by whose Advice and Direction their King was to govern; who gave such general Satisfaction to the *Scots*, that by Proclamation published at *Edinburgh* Cross, they gave the King all his Royal Power; whereupon *Cromwell* advanced, and sent his Reasons into *Scotland*, of his March with his Army into that Kingdom, and soon after advanced to *Dunbar*, where both Armies were near each other; but the *English* beginning to want Provisions, *Cromwell* resolved to retreat, before his Army was put to Extremity. But the *Scots* pressed hard upon them, and the Presbyterian Ministers in the Army encouraged the *Scots* to fight, contrary to the Opinion of their General, and other principal Officers, who advised rather to make a Bridge for the *English* Army to pass quietly homewards, than to hinder or oppose them. But the Ministers carried for Fighting; and the Day before the Engagement, the *Scots* seemed so sure of Victory (by Encouragement from their Ministers, who said it was the Lord's Battle) that they consulted of sending Propositions to the *English*, that they should have Leave to pass into *England* with their Swords only, leaving their Cannon and Ammunition behind them. 'Tis true, the *English* were then in a very sad Condition, many sick and wanting Provisions, the Passes before them stopt, the *Scots* Army on one Side of them, the Sea on the other, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* behind them. The General seeing no Way to escape,

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eſcape, without making his Way thro' them, reſolved to fight, in that deſperate Condition, and after one Hour's warm Diſpute, the *Scots* were defeated, and the *Engliſh* obtained an entire Victory, whereby the Scene was ſo much changed, that the *Engliſh* were forced to break the Pikes and Muſkets they took, not having Conveniency of ſending them for *England*. It ſeems the *Scots* purſued the *Engliſh* to *Dunbar*, and preſſed ſo hard upon them (thinking they had them in a Net) that the *Engliſh* could not retire without fighting; by which they got ſo compleat a Victory, that General *Cromwell* was Maſter, that very Day, both of *Leith* and *Edinburgh*.

The News of this Defeat being brought to the King, he was pleaſed to ſay, he thanked God he was ſo rid of the *Scots*, that their Kirk might then ſee their Error in prohibiting their King from being in Perſon with their Army, and keeping out the *Engliſh*, and the reſt of the King's Followers, who, in all Probability, had prevented their great Misfortune. However, their King was crowned ſoon after at *Scone*, tho' the *Scotch* Miniſters preached, that their Defeat was occaſioned by their too much Compliance with their King, to whom moſt of the *Scotch* Lords adhered: But ſome Commanders with the Kirk were of a contrary Opinion, and would by all means purge the King's Houſhold. However, the *Scots* raiſe a new Army, whom the King in Perſon would command; the Duke of *Hamilton* is made Lieutenant General, *David Leſley*

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Leſley Major General, *Middleton* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, and *Maſſy* Major General of the *Engliſh*; and with this Army the King hoped to get bye the *Engliſh*, and to make the Seat of the War in *England*. But after a long and terrible March, wherein were ſeveral Engagements, with different Succeſs, the *Engliſh* being in the Rear, and on all Sides of the *Scots*; ſo that moſt of the Engagements were to the King's Diſadvantage, who at laſt arrived at *Worceſter* with his ſhattered Army, where he was beaten by General *Cromwell*, the Third Day of *September*, as he had done the Year before at *Dunbar*. After this total Defeat, the King eſcaped, and was miraculouſly preſerved for a better Fortune, and to ſee the Murderers of his late Royal Father, at leaſt ſome of the principal of them, moſt juſtly and deſervedly puniſhed.

After the Succeſs of this Battle, General *Cromwell* went to *London*, and was highly careſſed by all, and having then a Vacation from military Labours, he had Time to juggle with his Officers, to advance his Power; for tho' he then governed as King, and the Juncto of Parliament acted only according to his Dictates, yet he ſeemed not ſo great as he deſired, whilſt he only acted as Maſter, under the Title of a Servant; and finding the Juncto did not proceed in all things according to his Mind, he reſolved to take the Power wholly into his own Hands, that it might clearly appear what he was in effect: And to this Purpoſe he got the

Conſent

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Consent of most of the Officers of the Army, who were his Creatures, to be willing he should break the Juncto of Parliament. But before he would execute any Part of this, which within himself he had long before designed, and now being ripe for Execution, he held a long Conference with an eminent Person, upon whose Opinion and Judgment he much relied, and declared to him his Dissatisfaction with the Parliament's Proceedings, and that he would do nothing therein without his Advice, who was at this time a Member of Parliament, and in great Esteem among them. This Gentleman with whom *Cromwell* then conferred, told him freely, that since he governed all at present, and that the Juncto of Parliament did nothing without his Consent, he thought it best that he should continue General as he was, having the whole Government in his Hands, unless he would take upon him the Title of King, and then he might govern safely, and those that served under him would be in no Danger, he being King *de facto*, according to an Act of Parliament made in the Eleventh of *Henry* VII. which was still in Force: But *Cromwell* absolutely refused this, because he knew he could never get the Officers of the Army their Consent to it, nor some of his own near Relations, who swore they would kill him, if ever he took that Title upon him. This Conference puts me in Mind of what Mr. *Hambden* said to the Lord *Digby*, in the Beginning of the War, as they were going down the Parliament Stairs.

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Cromwell going just before them, the Lord *Digby* (who was then a great Man in the House of Commons) asked *Hambden*, who that Man was? *for I see*, saith the Lord *Digby*, *he is of our Side, by his speaking so warmly this Day*: Upon which Mr. *Hambden* replied, *That slovenly Fellow, which you see before us, who hath no Ornament in his Speech: I say, that Sloven, if we should ever come to have a Breach with the King, (which God forbid) I say, that Sloven, in such Case, will be one of the greatest Men of* England; which was a prophetical Speech: But *Hambden* knew him well, and was intimately acquainted with him.

Now, after this Conference between *Cromwell* and that other Person, a Member of Parliament, finding *Cromwell*'s Averseness to what he proposed, he told him, there was but one other Way that he knew, whereby *Cromwell* might make himself and Family as great as he pleased, but that he would not propose it, without first having an Assurance from his Excellency, that he would not take it ill what he should say, nor mention it to any other; both which *Cromwell* promised him upon his Faith and Honour: And when the Gentleman discloſed himself farther to *Cromwell*, advertizing him what he might do, to his own eternal Honour, and to what Advantage he pleased, for all his Family, his Excellency told the Gentleman, that it was a Matter of the greatest Importance, and would require a good Time to consider of it. But his Excellency never spoke one Word more to that

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Gentleman about it; and finding by that Gentleman's Diſcourſe, that he was not like to approve of what he intended, his Excellency ſoon found a Way to have him ſent a foreign Ambaſſador, whilſt he continued his firſt Reſolution; in order to which, he firſt erects a Council of Officers, who expoſtulate with the Parliament about their Arrears, and the Diſſolution of the Parliament, which occaſioned a long Debate in the Houſe, where it was reſolved they would continue their Power: Whereupon General *Cromwell*, in the Month of *April* 1653, comes into the Houſe with ſome of his Generals, and a File of Muſqueteers, and diſſolves the Junto of Parliament, and after declares his Reaſons for it, to give the People Satisfaction.

In this he was obeyed, tho' with ſome Murmuring and Reluctancy of the Members. He then bid his Soldiers take away the Fool's Bauble, their Mace. The Speaker being unwilling to leave his Chair, was pulled out of it by Collonel *Harriſon*, and *Cromwell* ſat down in it, and ſtayed in the Houſe, till he ſaw all the Members out, and then he cauſed the Doors to be locked up, to the great Content of the Nation, who then judged a worſe Slavery could not befal them, tho' they expected little Liberty or Freedom from him into whoſe Hands the Power then fell. This Action was certainly a much higher Affront than what the Houſe of Commons took ſo ill from the late King, that one of their own Members ſhould ſo violently turn them all out.

Thus

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Thus this Juncto of Parliament was at this time treated by thoſe that had ſet them up, and took their Commiſſions and Authority from them; nor could the Army juſtify any Action they had done, or one Drop of Blood they had ſpilt, but by their Authority. The Servants roſe up againſt their Maſters, and diſſolved that Power by which they were created Officers and Soldiers, and then the Army took (what they had long ſince deſigned) all Power into their own Hands; and after the Parliament had ſubdued all their Enemies, they were overthrown and ruined by their own Servants, and thoſe whom they had raiſed, pulled down their Maſters; an Example very ſtrange! by which we ſee how uncertain all worldly Affairs are, and how apt to fall, when they think them at the higheſt Point: And ſoon after this Diſſolution, the General gave his Reaſons in Print to ſatisfy the Nation why he had diſſolved them, in a long Declaration.

By this Diſſolution, *Cromwell* was poſſeſſed of the Three Kingdoms, having both the legiſlative and military Power in his Hands; and therefore he thought fit to chuſe ſeveral Perſons to be the ſupreme Government, who met at *Weſtminſter*, and called themſelves a Parliament, and choſe one Mr. *Rouſe* for their Speaker, who had the uſual Ceremonies belonging to that Office, and this was by Nick-name called *Barebone*'s Parliament, becauſe he was a Member of it, being at that time a Leather-Seller in *Fleetſtreet*. But this Parliament not

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agreeing amongſt themſelves, (tho' they were but an Hundred and Forty) after ſome ſhort Time, they reſign their Power to *Cromwell* who gave it them. Then *Cromwell* is declared by his Council, or by the Inſtrument of Government, as they called it, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and proclaimed ſo in the uſual Places as the Kings formerly were; and in this extraordinary Manner he mounted the Throne of the Three Kingdoms, without the Name of a King, but with greater Power and Authority than any King, and received greater Eſteem and Reſpect from all the Princes of Chriſtendom, than ever had been ſhewed to any Monarch of the Three Nations: For tho' they all abhorred him, yet they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendſhip. After he had ſufficiently beaten the *Dutch*, he made a Peace with them, and obliged *Portugal* to ſend an Ambaſſador to make Peace, and proſecuted all thoſe of the King's Party that were at home, with the utmoſt Rigour and Cruelty, and erected a High Court of Juſtice, for Tryal of ſuch as ſhould riſe, or plot any thing againſt him, and many were executed upon that Account. He made his youngeſt Son *Henry* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: But *England* proved not ſo as he expected; for the moſt conſiderable Men that were in the Houſe of Commons, from the time that he diſſolved them, poiſoned the Affections of the People towards the Government, and yet carried themſelves ſo warily, that they did not

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not disturb the Peace of the Nation. And tho' *Cromwell* was then possessed of the Sovereign Power, yet he thought himself not secure, till he had the Consent of the People in Parliament; and therefore, according to his Power in the Instrument of Government, he summoned a Parliament, which met at *Westminster*, the Third Day of *September* 1654, the famous Day of his two great Victories at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, and in this Parliament *Lenthall* was chosen Speaker. This he thought was the only Way to have the People entirely submit to him, and he ordered it so, that no Person who had ever been against the Parliament, during the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any such Person, should be chosen. *Cromwell* came into the House, and allowed the Speaker: The first Speech that was made amongst them, was to know by what Authority they came thither? And whether he that had convened them, had a lawful Power to do it? And tho' the Protector's Creatures endeavoured to direct them, yet many of the Members declared against the Power: And one more bold than others said, *That as God had made him instrumental of cutting down Tyranny in one Man; so now he could not endure to see the Nation's Liberties shackled by another, who had no Right to the Government, but by the Length of his Sword.* The Continuance of this warm Debate lasted for some Days, which much perplexed the Protector, who sent for the Parliament to him in the *Banqueting-House*, and told them in his canting

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Tone, that he was ſorry to hear they were falling into Heats and Diviſions, and declared, that the ſame Government that made him Protector, had made them a Parliament; and that therefore no Man was to ſit in that Houſe, that did not firſt take an Engagement, which he had cauſed to be made, which many refuſed to take, as being againſt their Privileges, and a Guard was ſet at the Door of the Houſe, that none ſhould enter that had not taken it; and notwithſtanding many refuſed entering upon that Account, yet the Reſidue proved ſo reſty, that he was obliged to diſſolve them; which he did, and ſaid, he could do his Buſineſs without them. It was about this time, that *Wildman* and *Lilburn*, the two great Levellers, were taken and proſecuted, but *Lilburn* more ſeverely than the other; and tho' he was accuſed and tryed for High-Treaſon, yet the Jury found him Not Guilty. He told the People at his Tryal, *That all* Engliſhmen *were obliged to oppoſe* Cromwell's *Tyranny, as he had done purely for their ſakes, to preſerve them from being Slaves:* And tho' he was acquitted, yet *Cromwell* never ſuffered him to be ſet at Liberty, but ſtill kept him incloſed from Priſon to Priſon, till he himſelf died.

After the Diſſolution of the Parliament, *Cromwell* not thinking himſelf ſecure in the Government, he invented a new Chimera to keep the People in Awe, which was the Government by the Major Generals, and the whole Kingdom was divided amongſt them, being Eleven

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Eleven in all: These were principally employed to decimate Delinquents Estates, and gave them great Power to value what the Tenth Part of every such Estate did amount to, and every Man was to pay what they thought fit, and upon Neglect, the Person to be imprisoned, and his whole Estate sequestered. But finding these Major Generals were very odious to all Parties, and fearing they might in the End undermine his own Greatness, and govern like *Turkish* Bassaws, he soon put an End to their Power, believing they eclipsed his Glory.

Then the *Jews* offered *Cromwell* a great Sum of Money, that they might be permitted to traffick freely; but the City and principal Merchants therein being much against it, that Project failed him. After, in the Year 1656, *Cromwell* (who was then called Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c.) summoned another Parliament, who met accordingly, and remembring the Speeches and Carriages of many Members of the late Parliament, he gave secret Advice to the Sheriffs of the several Counties, to hinder, if possible, their being chosen; but this Advice proved fruitless in most Places. However, the Parliament met, and before they were permitted to enter the House, they were to subscribe a Recognition, that they would act nothing that was prejudicial to the Government, as established by a Protector: 'Whereupon many Members chose rather to return home; but the Major Part signed the Recognition, entered the

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Houſe, and choſe Sir *Thomas Withrington* Speaker, who acted ſuitably to the Protector's Deſires in every thing. The Parliament preſſed *Cromwell* mightily to be King, which *Cromwell* poſitively refuſed; but his Refuſal ſeemed not in the leaſt diſadvantageous; for that by a new Inſtrument, which was called the Humble Petition and Advice, they granted him not only the Authority of Protector for his Life, but alſo a Power to declare his Succeſſor; and when they had agreed upon this, they deſired an Audience, which he gave them in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, the Twenty Fifth of *May* 1657, where their Speaker, *Withrington*, preſented and read the Petition and Advice of his Parliament, and deſired his Aſſent to it, which the Protector then ſigned, and made a long Harangue to them, and was ſolemnly inaugurated in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and adjourned the Parliament till *January* following.

And thus the Parliament having done all that could be expected from them, he would do ſomething for himſelf, whoſe Greatneſs, in that Vacancy, was ſo well eſtabliſhed, both at Home and Abroad, that it ſeemed as if it could never be ſhaken. He was confirmed in his Power with the Title of Protector, and took his Oath accordingly, and was proclaimed Protector in the uſual Places as the Kings formerly were, and ſolemnly inaugurated in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

In *January* the Parliament met; but new Inſtitutions in Government are often unſecure, for a Gap was left open, which none of the Contri-

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Contrivers of the new Government thought of, there being one Article in *The Humble Petition and Advice*, to which *Cromwell* had assented and sworn, *That no Member lawfully chosen should be excluded, but by the Consent of that House of which he was a Member*; and proceeding to the calling over their House, all those who had been before refused Entrance, for not signing the Recognition, were admitted, whereby above One Hundred of the most inveterate Enemies of the Protector came and sat in the House: But *Cromwell* thought he had sufficiently provided for his Security, to restrain the Insolency of the House of Commons, by having called the other House, which by the Petition and Advice was to be done, and filled it for the most Part with Officers of the Army, and of his surest Friends, and that were firmly fixed to the Protector's Interest.

When the Adjournment ended, and the Houses met, *Cromwell* came to the Upper House, and sent the Black Rod for the House of Commons to attend him; and being in his Chair of State, he began his Speech in the old Style, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons.* So soon as the Commons returned to their House, they began to question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House: That tho' the Petition and Advice admitted there should be another House, but that it should be a House of Peers, and they be called My Lords, there was no such Provision; nor did it appear what Jurisdiction they should

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have; and that it would be ridiculous for them, who sat only by their Vote, no better Men than themselves, to have a negative Voice to controul their Masters; and they esteemed it as a thing made on Purpose to mock them: And then they began to question the Protector's Authority, how his Highness came to place them in the House of Peers, at which the Commons were much disgusted: Of which the Protector being advertized, he was strangely surprized, and found he had been short-sighted, in not having proceeded at the same time, to fill up his House of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers. However, he forthwith convened both Houses, and reprehended the House of Commons for presuming to question his Authority: The other House, he said, were Lords, and should be Lords, and commanded them to enter upon such Business as might be for the Benefit, not Destruction of the Commonwealth, which he would by God's Help prevent: But finding his Animadversions did not reform them, but that they continued their former Presumption, and knowing the Ticklishness of his Time would not endure Disputes, especially as to his Pageant Lords, whom he had newly erected: He therefore sent the Black Rod for the House of Commons, the Fourth of *February*, and after having used many sharp Expressions of Indignation, he told them, it concerned his Interest as much as the Peace of the Nation, to dissolve them, and accordingly he did dissolve them: And to shew how little he feared those Men

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who contradicted him at home, he sent immediately for *Lambert*, and took away his Commission, and removed him from the Army, who forthwith retired, and was as little taken notice of, as if he had never been in Authority; which gave great Reputation to the Protector, and shewed he was Master of his Army.

Whilst these warm Debates were in Agitation at home, about the Protector's Government, he was so cunning as to make Treaties and Leagues abroad, and was publickly owned by many Kingdoms and States; and it was about this time, that the *English*, with Conjunction of the *French*, took *Dunkirk* and *Graveling*; the first of which was by by Agreement garrisoned by the *English*, and Sir *William Lockhart*, a *Scotchman*, made Governour; and *Graveling* was garrisoned by the *French*.

But during these Successes abroad, the King was first at *Cologne*, where he was well received and treated, before which, his Family was in great Disorder at *Paris*; but being at *Cologne*, it was put under the Care and Management of Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had the Disposal of all, and he there kept the King's House and Family for about Six Hundred Pistoles a Month; but his Majesty never kept a Coach all the time he was at *Cologne*. From thence his Majesty went to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where he stayed in the Year 1657; and after he had been there some time, Six Thousand Guilders was settled monthly for himself and Family; and Half that Sum (I mean Half as much more) for Support of the

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the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*. He was then to raiſe Four Regiments of Foot; the firſt Regiment for his own Guards, commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*; but they were to do their Duty in the Army as common Men, till his Majeſty was in Condition to bring them about his Perſon. The Earl of *Ormond* had the ſecond Regiment, the Earl of *Rocheſter* the third, and the fourth was given to the Earl of *Newburgh*, a *Scotch* Nobleman, who had ſerved the King with great Fidelity: And theſe four Regiments were ſoon raiſed. Whilſt the King was at *Bruges*, *Cromwell* exerciſed all imaginary Tyranny in his Government: The King's Heart was almoſt broken with the daily Informations he received, of the Ruine and Deſtruction his loyal Party underwent, and the Butchery acted upon them, and the extreme Tyranny *Cromwell* exerciſed over the whole Nation, was then very grievous to his Majeſty, ſeeing no End of it.

Scotland was then governed by a Rod of Iron, ſubdued by thoſe whom they had firſt taught to rebel, and with whom they had joined to deſtroy their own natural Prince, and diſſolved that Monarchy which had been ever ſince they were a Nation; and thoſe who had uſed to practiſe ſuch ill Behaviour towards their King, were then contemned, and made Slaves to the meaneſt of the People, who preſcribed them new Laws to which they had never been accuſtomed. The King then ſaw thoſe, who were the Beginners and firſt Authors of our publick Cala-

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Calamities, so much Sharers therein, that they were no more Masters of their own Estates, than they were whom they had first spoiled; and that no Part of the new Government was in their Hands who had pulled down the old; and that after Monarchy had seemed so odious to them, their whole Nation was at the Disposal of a single Person; and that those *Scotch* Lords, without whose traitorous Assistance the Scepter could never have been wrested out of the Hands of their King, were now reckoned amongst the Dreggs of the People, and so numbred. This could not but give some Satisfaction to King *Charles* II. to see God's Judgments fallen upon them, who were the principal Cause of our Rebellion in *England*.

But before I go farther, I will beg Leave here to give you *Cromwell*'s Character, both before and after he came to be Protector. At the first Beginning of the Long Parliament, when he heard any Man speak of the Troubles of the Nation, he would weep most bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Person in the World, with the Sense of the Calamities that were likely to arrive: But the wiser sort of Men in the House of Commons soon discovered his wicked Intentions, and his great Hypocrisy was no longer concealed from them. Nothing more perplexed him, than the Death of his dear Daughter *Claypole*, who was troubled at nothing so much, before her Death, as at the Blood her Father had spilt; and it was believed she had represented his worst Actions to him,

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and yet he never made the leaſt Shew of any Remorſe or Repentance for any of his Actions. He could never have done half that Miſchief he did, without having great Parts of Induſtry, Courage, and Judgment. He muſt have had a wonderful Inſight into the Affections and Humours of Men, who from a private Birth, without any Intereſt, Eſtate, or Alliance, could raiſe himſelf to ſo great a Height: He attempted that which no good Man durſt undertake, and performed that which none but a wicked valiant Man could ſucceed in. There was certainly never a more wicked Man, nor one that ever brought to paſs what he deſigned more wickedly. He conſulted very few, and when he had once taken a Reſolution, he would not be diſſwaded from it. He was never unfortunate in any of his Undertakings abroad, but only in that of *Pen* and *Venables*, who were ſent out by him with a Fleet and Land Army, in 1655, and had ill Succeſs. In fine, to reduce Three Nations, who perfectly hated him, into an intire Obedience, and to govern them with a Rod of Iron, by an Army that wiſhed his utter Ruine, was an Inſtance of a prodigious Addreſs, and ſhewed, that he was born for the Ruine of our *Engliſh* Nation.

But yet, after all his Greatneſs both at home and abroad, ſome things happened before his End, which much diſturbed him; not only the frequent Plots againſt his Perſon, but the Coming up of a monſtrous Whale in the freſh Water, contrary to the Nature of that Fiſh, as

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far as *Greenwich*, where it was taken, and believed by many to portend some great Alteration in the Commonwealth: Yet this did not so much trouble the Protector, as the Death of his dear Daughter *Claypole*, who died in the Beginning of *August* 1658. He had settled his greatest Affection upon this Daughter, from the time of whose Death he appeared very melancholy, and fell sick about the Middle of *August*; but his Sickness being only an Ague, there was no Apprehensions of his Death; and he declared publickly to his Physicians, and many others, *That God would not take him away, till he done some more Work for him.* But it soon appeared, that if God did not, the Devil did take him; for he died the Third of *September* following: A Day that had been so fortunate to him proved his last in this World; and such a Tempest accompanied his Death that Night, as was not seen in the Memory of Man: Great Trees in *St. James*'s Park were blown up by the Roots, of which I was an Eye Witness. The large strong Pales, which made up the Breach on *London* Bridge (caused by a violent Fire some Years before) were blown down; many Boats cast away upon the *Thames*, great Shipwrecks at Sea, besides several by the Storm, in divers Parts of *England*, by Land. The Prince of the Air shewed his Power was above the Protector's, who thought not fit that he should part quietly out of this World, who had made such a Combustion, Trouble, and Misery in it. He was a Person indeed, who, by his Arts of Dissembling,

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ſembling, Wickedneſs, and Murder, attained to the Height of Greatneſs: He made foreign Nations know more of *England*'s Strength, than any of our Kings of late Years had done. Beſides, he had all Parts of Policy ſo neceſſary for an Uſurper, and had ſo perfectly learnt the Art of Diſſembling, that, with his Eyes lifted up to Heaven (whoſe Heart was far from it) and his Hand laid on his Breaſt, he would pray, cry, and act the Saint, till he had fully accompliſhed his Deſigns.

After *Cromwell*'s Death, his Son *Richard* being named in the Petition and Advice, ſucceeded as Protector; but having nothing of his late Father's Spirit or Parts, was unfit to hold what his late Father had got, and ſo was quickly turned out and depoſed by his ambitious and jealous Kindred, without drawing his Sword for it. Then, at the Army's Call, that filthy Part of the Commons called the Juncto, returned back to govern; who not pleaſing their over-powerful Maſters, the Army, they were a ſecond time expulſed by the Army. Then a Creature of the Army's begetting (with a new Name of their own deviſing) called, *The Committee of Safety*, was ſubſtituted, which occaſioned a great Difference betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Army, the latter declaring a great Diſſatisfaction againſt the Proceedings of the former, and the Conteſt ended by the Diviſions in the *Engliſh* Army, their Mutinery and Mouldring away, whilſt the *Scotch* Army, under the Command of the prudent *Fabius*, Gene-

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ral *Monk*, advanced towards *London*, whose Coming and Design had been prevented, if timorous *Fleetwood* had made good his Promise of sending first to the King, the Great Seal, with the Keeper of it, to assure his Majesty of their Repentance and Resolution to call in the King; which was agreed betwixt *Fleetwood* and the Keeper, who was ready to go with the Great Seal: But some Officers, then in Being in the Army, opposed *Fleetwood*'s Resolution, who had before promised them to do nothing without their Consent, of that Nature; and so the whole Business was set aside, when the Keeper was ready to go with the Great Seal.

It was the King's great Happiness, that *Monk* never owned his Design of serving the King, till it fell in his Power. If he had declared his Resolution sooner, he had destroyed himself; and the Assurance that the Parliament had, that *Monk* had no such Intention, hindered those Obstructions which probably would have ruined his Credit with his own Army, and united the rest of the Forces against him. It is true, that he was the Instrument to bring that to pass, which certainly he had neither Wisdom to foresee, nor Understanding to contrive, he being a phlegmatick dull Person, till he was awakened by his Officers, who thought him in great Danger by pulling down the Gates of the City of *London*: And therefore his Officers perswaded him to march again into the City, and then he declared to the Citizens (at Alderman *Wate*'s House) whom I knew very well, and at which

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time I lodged at Mr. *Clargy*'s Houſe, an Apothecary near *Charing-Croſs*, whoſe Siſter was married to *Monk*. This Apothecary was a very active ſtirring Man, and full of Intrigues, and I believe he prevailed much with his Brother *Monk*, to induce him to do what he did: For, whilſt he was at Alderman *Wate*'s, he then aſſured the Citizens, that he would live and die with them, which gave them great Joy, and put the Parliament in ſome Diſorder; whereupon they ſent ſome Members to treat with him, upon which he returned to *Whitehall*, and then ſent for the Members of both Parties, for thoſe that were turned out of Parliament in the Year 1648, and delivers a Paper to them in Writing, which his Secretary read to them; and then they all thought, that he really intended the Eſtabliſhing a Commonwealth: But no ſooner was the Conference ended, but the Members that had been excluded from 1648, entered the Houſe of Commons, and preſently diſſolved themſelves; which really contributed as much to his Majeſty's Service, as if really *Monk* had deſigned it at the firſt: But whether he did, or did not, I think is yet a great Queſtion, the wiſeſt amongſt us believing he never at firſt intended it, but that it fell into his Lap, to make our Nation happy, by reſtoring the right Heir to the Crown, without the Aſſiſtance of any foreign Prince, which was a Happineſs beyond our Expectation or Deſert.

But before the almoſt miraculous Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. and his coming to the Government,

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vernment, I think ſomething may be ſaid, tho' not in Vindication, yet in Mitigation, of the Crimes committed by ſome Members in that Long Parliament, in which unhappy Times the Crown was even laid in the Duſt, and the Juſtice of the King's-Cauſe did not prevail againſt thoſe malignant Spirits (who had deſigned the King's Ruine) and had miſled and corrupted the Underſtandings of many of his Majeſty's Subjects, who were over-perſwaded by the ſpecious Shew of *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex*, and thro' Miſtakes and Inconveniences then introduced (tho' not intended by the late King) did, in thoſe calamitous Times, rather weakly than wilfully, tranſgreſs their Bounds of Duty, and did not pay the Reverence and Obedience to the fundamental Laws of the Land, which they ſhould have done, but were led by the wicked Inſinuation of others, being confident that many, from their Hearts, abhorred every Article of that ſtrange and unheard of Rebellion, and moſt heartily deprecated the Miſeries that followed it; and yet they themſelves contributed to it, and to thoſe very Votes from whence thoſe Evils they abhorred did naturally ſpring; not conſidering, that when their Conſultations tended to leſſen or infringe the Power and Dignity of their King, they meddled with that which was not in their Determination, and which the King ought to have maintained with the Sacrifice of his Life: And we may well believe, thoſe Miſeries could never have been brought upon the *Engliſh* Na-

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tion, not that Violence committed upon the sacred Person of his then Majesty, if those profligated Villains that designed it, had not first violated the Parliament, by forcibly excluding those Members, who would never have consented to so execrable an Attempt, since they had avowed and covenanted for Defence and Safety of the King's Person, which was ever before dear to Parliaments: And none can think of that horrid Act committed against the precious Life of our Sovereign, but with Detestation, and such Abhorrence, that Words are wanting to express it. And had I the Voice of *Stentor*, nay, of St. *Paul*, I could not sufficiently declaim against it; and next to wishing it had never been, we wish it may never be remembered, but with that Grief and Trouble of Mind it deserves, being the greatest Reproach to our *English* Nation that it ever yet incurred, tho' the Nation it self, as well as several Members of Parliament were innocent of it, which was the only Contrivance and Act of some ambitious blood-thirsty Persons, hoping the divine Justice will not impute the Evil of it to the whole Kingdom, and involve the Guiltless with the Guilty.

The END of the MEMOIRS *of the* REIGN *of K.* CHARLES I.

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MEMOIRS

AND

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Reign and *Government*

OF

K. *CHARLES* the II^d.

Written by Sir RICHARD BULSTRODE,
Agent and Resident at the Court of Spain,
from King Charles II. *and after his Death,*
Envoy from King James II. *till the Coming*
in of the Prince of Orange.

LONDON:
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

REIGN and GOVERNMENT

OF

K. *CHARLES* the II^d.

AFTER the deplorable Death of King *Charles* I. fitter to be written in Tears of Blood than Ink, or rather to have a Veil drawn over it, that it may never be remembered, to the eternal Shame of the *Engliſh* Nation, his Son, King *Charles* II. was crowned King in *Scotland*; but it was upon ſuch hard Terms, that it was a Queſtion, whether

whether the Crown was worth accepting. However, as the King's Affairs then ſtood, it was judged beſt to accept of it, preferring the empty Title of a King in his own Dominions, to the empty Title of a King in another Nation. And yet it was thought ſtrange, that the King would put himſelf into the Hands of that Nation, whoſe Army had treated his royal Father ſo perfidiouſly; the Selling and Delivering him to the Parliament of *England*, being the moſt barbarous Action that any People were ever guilty of; and their Honour can never be repaired for the Horridneſs of that moſt wicked Crime. However, the late King *Charles* could not be much blamed, in the ſad Poſture of his Affairs, for going to that Army, to which he was ſo kindly invited, having been ever a great Lover of that Nation, not only having been born there, but educated by them; and therefore thought he ſhould find there his greateſt Security, where he found the moſt Danger. But indeed ſuch ſtrange Circumſtances contributed to his Ruine, that we might think Heaven and Earth had conſpired againſt him, who was from the Beginning ſo much betrayed by his own Servants, that very few remained faithful to him; and yet their Treachery proceeded rather from ſome particular Animoſities amongſt themſelves, than from any treaſonable Intent to do the King Harm: And notwithſtanding he was reduced to ſo miſerable a Fate, yet it is moſt certain he had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general,

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ral, and was as much beloved and esteemed by them, as any of his Predecessors: But it was our Wantonness under the Happiness we enjoyed beyond any other Nation, and our own Sins, which brought that Judgment upon us. The strange Transactions in *England*, which began in the Year 1641, are not to be paralelled for the wonderful Passages therein; we then saw *England*, in the highest Pitch of worldly Happiness, fall to the lowest Degree of Misfortune and Misery.

I know very well, how unsearchable the Secrets of Princes are, in what an Abyss they lye, and how much too deep to be sounded by our Discourses; but when I remember the Turns of those Times, I seem rather to dream, than to think the Relation true, of so many surprizing Revolutions, which are scarce credible in this our Age. The best of Kings was then condemned by mercileſs Rebels, after being abandoned by his neareſt Friends, and pursued by his fierceſt Enemies, who furiously seized upon his sacred Person, and at last took away his Life, and triumphed in their own Wickedness with successful Insolence for some Years, when, at last, by God's Providence, the rightful Heir to the Crown was brought home to his own People, without the Assistance of any foreign Prince, in as full Exercise of his Government, as any of his Predecessors ever enjoyed, and by many of the same Men, who had before been very active in the Miseries of the Kingdom, and Destruction of their own Country;

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Country; and yet the Sufferings of the royal Family were all recovered, by the concurring Hand of divine Providence. By which we may ſee, when Subjects make Victories over their Princes, they are Triumphs over themſelves; and thoſe Men which will force Laws which they are bound to preſerve, will, in the End, find all their Victories full of Troubles, bringing Ruine to their Authors.

But, leaving this Digreſſion, let us ſee what is become of our King in *Scotland*, who carried many eminent faithful Subjects with him thither, who were nothing at all eſteemed by the *Scots*, who choſe a particular Council, by whoſe Advice the King was to govern, who gave the *Scots* great Satisfaction in all things they deſired of him: And, upon his being crowned in *Scotland*, *Cromwell* was declared General, and prepared for a War, and marched with his Army, which he had before modelled to his own Mind, commanded abſolutely, diſcountenancing and ſuppreſſing all who had been ſupported by General *Fairfax*. The Independants had all the Credit about *Cromwell*, and the Pulpits were open to all that would ſhew their Gifts, and great Diſtraction and Confuſion in Religion then governed. The *Scots* raiſed an Army againſt *Cromwell*, ſupplied with all things neceſſary, but Prudence, Courage, and Conduct. The King deſired that he might command the Army, ſince he was to run the Fortune of it; but the *Scots* would ſcarce give him Leave to ſee it. *Cromwell* enters *Scotland*

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as far as *Dunbar*, but was ſoon reduced to great Diſtreſs, for want of all Neceſſaries. The *Scots* really believed they had the *Engliſh* at their Mercy; and it is certain, if the *Scots* had only kept their Trenches, and ſent Parties of Horſe after the *Engliſh*, they would have marched off, and left their Cannon and heavy Baggage behind: But *Cromwell* ſeeing the *Scotch* Army decamp, and follow him, he then made a Stand with his Army, and the *Scots* ſoon found they were not upon ſo clear a Chaſe as they imagined, being ſo clearly defeated by *Cromwell*, that he was that Night, being the Third of *September*, Maſter both of *Leith* and *Edinburgh*. The *Scots*, like the Anabaptiſts in *Germany*, pretended at firſt nothing but Faith and true Fear of God, and declared againſt Riches and Honours as Vanity; and upon the great Opinion of their Humility and Devotion, they had procured much Eſteem; and after they had enſnared many with their Hypocriſy, they would reform both Church and State: And having gotten Power, and enriched themſelves with the Spoils of *England*, they thought then to juſtify themſelves by our Saviour's Promiſe, that *The Meek ſhould inherit the Earth*. When they firſt entered *England*, their Succeſs crowned their Work, and they were thought a wiſe and reſolute Nation; for, after an unbloody War, for above one Year, they returned laden with Spoils and great Riches, and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as coming into *England*.

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It seems the King, in *Scotland*, was so far from being in their late Battle at *Dunbar*, that he was not admitted into their Councils or Army: But to redeem their former Error, they resolved to raise a new Army, to be commanded by the King in Person, hoping to pass another Way bye *Cromwell* into *England*, intending to make the Seat of the War there, and made the highest Professions of Duty to his Majesty, that could be invented, and gave great Promises to the King, of what Demonstrations of Zeal and Duty they would suddenly shew him.

The King began his March, which was long and terrible, and several Engagements passed in the Way, with different Success, but most of them to the King's Disadvantage, who, in the End, arrived at *Worcester* with his shattered Army, and was there as clearly defeated by *Cromwell*, the Third of *September*, as the *Scots* were the Year before at *Dunbar*. The King's Escape, after the Loss of this Battle, was very miraculous, being preserved by a wonderful Providence from the Fury of his blood-thirsty Rebels. His Majesty first met in a Wood, not far from *Boscobell*, with Captain *Careless*, who perswaded the King to get up into an Oaken Tree: From thence he went into a Cottage, where he lay in a Barn, and was then conducted to another House by Father *Huddleston*, who was sent to him by *Careless*, who after brought him to the Lord *Wilmot*, who conducted the King to Mr. *Lane*'s House; from whence the King rode before young Mrs. *Lane*, to

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to her Couſin *Norton* near *Briſtol*, where the King was known to the Butler. From thence the Lord *Wilmot* took the King into *Suſſex*, to Collonel *Gunter*'s, and from thence brought the King into *Normandy*, who had ever after a great Eſteem for his Lordſhip. There was indeed ſuch a Concurrence of Charity, good Nature and Generoſity, in Perſons of the meaneſt Extraction, and hardeſt Fortune, who knew the Delivery of the King would have been of great Advantage to them, that we may look upon the King's Eſcape as conducted by Hands of the Almighty, who covered him as with a Shield, when his rebellious People ſought his Life, who was ſtill concealed from their moſt diligent Search, wherein Father *Huddleſton* was very inſtrumental: And tho' many knew where the King was, and thoſe very poor, yet none were tempted by great Rewards, and more powerful Fears, to betray the King, who after many Changes of Station, and Misfortunes, after this miraculous Manner, was brought into *France*, and at laſt brought home to his own People: And tho' he was forced away by a Whirlwind of Rebellion, he was reſtored to his Three Kingdoms with the ſtill Voice of Peace and Mercy; a happy Preſage how his Majeſty would govern, whoſe Reign, at leaſt the Beginning of it, ſhewed ſufficiently his meek and generous Temper. In the time of the King's Baniſhment, he ſpent two Years at *Cologne*, where he was well received by a Widow, at whoſe Houſe he lodged. Before his going to *Cologne*, his

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his Family was in great Diſorder; but at his being there, by Direction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Family was put under the Care and Management of Sir *Stephen Fox*, who kept it in excellent Order. The King was then of a very merciful Nature, and at that time it was very agreeable to his Inclination, not to have the Penal Laws put in Execution; and tho' it was not in his Power to repeal them, yet it was never in his Will to execute them; and his Majeſty was then very forward to do all he could for the *Roman* Catholicks in that kind: But when he came into *England*, he ſoon changed his Mind, and proved in the End very ſevere againſt the *Roman* Catholicks, who deſired to live quietly, but could not be allowed to do ſo.

Upon this King's moſt happy Reſtoration, there was ſeen from all Parts his loyal Subjects contending how to expreſs their Gratitude to Heaven, for its glorious Favour, and the King's no leſs than miraculous Return, and for the manifold Bleſſings they were like to enjoy under the benign Reign of ſo excellent a Prince, every Man ſtriving who ſhould firſt pay the humble Oblation of their Duties, which really proceeded from Hearts full of Reverence and Obedience to his ſacred Perſon; being poſſeſſed with a deep Senſe of the Honour and good Fortune they had to be born his Subjects: And, indeed, who could forbear to be tranſported with Joy, that was going to receive his King? And who could contain the Overflowings of his Heart,

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Heart, when he could ſay, *I have my* KING *again?*

'Tis true, that when the Nation had been ſo long mad, after ſo many Changes and Revolutions, and our Progreſs from bad to worſe, we might with Reaſon have expected, God ſhould have ſent us the worſt of Tyrants, ſome Infidel or Uſurper, to ſcourge us with Whips, as we well deſerved: But he was ſo gracious as to ſend us our own King, the undoubted Heir to the Crown, to redeem our Nation from the Infamy it had undergone, and to reſtore it to all it had loſt, and to make the People as happy as they ought to be. In order to which, the King gave a general Pardon to all (excepting only ſuch as ſhould be excepted by Parliament) and that no Perſon whatſoever, for any Crime committed, either againſt his late royal Father, or againſt the preſent King's ſacred Perſon, ſhould ever be brought in Queſtion, to the leaſt Damage of Life, Liberty, or Eſtate, or even to the Prejudice of his Reputation, or any other Reproach or Term of Diſtinction: And the King did then alſo declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that none ſhould be diſquieted, or called in Queſtion for Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which did not diſturb the Peace or Settlement of the Kingdom. And further, to let his Subjects ſee how to practiſe the Art of Forgetfulneſs, which they ſhould learn from him, his Majeſty did then put ſome Men into eminent Employs, who had before diſſerved him; ſo that every Man might capaci-

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capacitate himself, by his future Behaviour, for any Place. But this Conduct seemed to some like a trimming Indifferency, to disoblige his old Friends, in hopes of getting new ones, which hath usually been the Subversion of Governments; and no wise Counsellour would advise his Prince to grieve his old Friends, to make his old Enemies rejoice. However, as the Posture of the King's Affairs then stood, he was obliged to take such Measures; but whether, at last, the King found his End in them, is yet a great Question. For, as the Judgments of God, have, in all Ages, reached those at last, who have secretly taken away the Lives of Princes, or have been in open Rebellion against their lawful Kings, so his Justice did at last, in *England*, become the Revenger of Blood, and pursued those that killed and took Possession, after they had boasted of their Wickedness for several Years, and brought them at last to condign Punishment, to let the World see and know, that Rebellion is criminal, even when it is prosperous; and tho' God may forbear for some time to punish, yet he always does it justly at last: For tho' God hath leaden Feet, and is slow in punishing, yet he hath Iron Hands, and strikes home in the End: And here, that some Compensation might be made for the Loss of the Royal Father, which was irreparable, God gave the Crown to his eldest Son. It is most certain, that King *Charles* II. at his first coming to the Throne, had most reconciling Thoughts, who gave large Evidence of them,

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after so high a Distemper, and such a universal shaking the Foundations of Government, desiring and commanding his Parliament to take Care to repair the Breaches, and to use such Circumspection and Industry, as might provide things necessary for strengthening those Repairs, and to prevent for the future whatever might disturb or weaken the common Interest; recommending to his Parliament a general Union, as the best, if not the only Way for their own Security, and the Happiness of the whole Kingdom. This King, indeed, at his Restoration, was glorious in the Eyes of all his Subjects: Those great Deliverances which the divine Goodness had afforded to his royal Person from many imminent Dangers, and the Support which it gave to his heroick princely Mind, under such various Tryals, made it appear, that he was precious in God's Sight, and as Gold out of the Fire: He was restored to his People and Patrimony with more Splendor and Dignity, who had made a right Use of his Afflictions, and taken such Observations of other Countries, that he really intended to make all his Subjects the better for what he had seen and suffered abroad.

It is true, that, in the Beginning of this King's Reign, the Doctrine of the Court was, *Sow a little, that ye may reap much*; and those who were then entrusted with the Nation's Purse, were themselves for diving into the Prince's Pocket; and that too generous Prince, at his first coming to the Crown, was soon over-

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perſwaded to give away the greateſt Part of his Crown Lands. The Courtier begged, and the Citizen bought, and the King was ſoon diveſted of all; and yet they who ſuffered for his late royal Father, were not the better for all his immoderate Bounties. Theſe his great Liberalities were not given as the Recompence of ancient Merit, but were beſtowed either as Rewards of Vice, or Price of Treachery; ſo that the worſt Men made the beſt Advantage: And tho' the King did then what was very prejudicial to the Crown; yet ſuch was the flouriſhing Condition of the *Engliſh* at that time, that the People could bear a great deal of ill Management: Beſides, ſome were glad to ſee a young King that would ſoon be neceſſitated by his extravagant Bounty to depend upon his People, who did then begin to apprehend, that the King did meditate an arbitrary Power. Now, whatever Ground the great Counſellours of thoſe Times had, there was no Bar put in the Way of that deſtructive Bounty; but as ill-gotten Goods ſeldom proſper, very little of what was obtained remained long in the Hands of the firſt Poſſeſſor, but all was ſoon diſperſed into a Multitude of Hands, and the Silence of thoſe who then had a Right to complain, ſeemed in ſome meaſure to have juſtified ſuch Proceedings: And tho' the King, being then young, airy and liberal, was much to blame for permitting ſuch a Spoil to be made of his Revenue; yet they (whoſe Duty it was to take Care of the Body Politick) ſuffered the Diſtemper to

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proceed too far; and what the King did was then winked at, becauſe the Courtiers (who were neareſt the King's Perſon) got all, and and the great Trade and Wealth of the *Engliſh* might bear ſuch Gifts, which were not then ſupplied by new and heavy Taxes, which the People after found exceſſive in a following Reign. However, this great Overſight of the King ſhould teach wiſe Princes to diſtinguiſh betwixt thoſe that ſerve them for their own Ends, and thoſe that have only in their View the Intereſt and Honour of the King their Maſter: But we always ſee Compliance and Flattery get the better of Honeſty and plain Dealing, Princes uſually loving thoſe beſt that diſpute not with them, and prefer them before ſuch as adviſe them really what is beſt for their Service. This kind of Flattery is a Plant ſo preſerved in moſt Courts, that it never fails of bringing moſt dangerous Fruit, and Princes very ſeldom diſcover it, till it be too late, and that they are ruined by it. I muſt confeſs, it would be a great Advantage to Princes, and to their Subjects a great Happineſs, to have plain Truths delivered to them with Decency and Privacy, from their moſt faithful Servants, whereby they might redreſs many Miſtakes of their Judgments or Will; which brings to my Mind what *Tom Killigrew*, a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles* II. ſaid, as he was under his Barber's Hands: A Book being in the Window, in which *Killigrew* was looking, it being a Book of his own Plays, of which the King taking

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Notice, he asked him, *What Account he would give at the Day of Judgment, of all the idle Words in that Book? Why truly*, says *Killigrew*, *I shall give a better Account of all the idle Words in this Book, than your Majesty shall do of all your idle Promises, and more idle Patents, which have undone many; but my idle Words in this Book have undone no Person.* This was a bold and sharp Repartee; but the King being an indulgent Master, and not of a Disposition to do harsh things, gave *Killigrew* a great Liberty of Fooling; for otherwise he must needs have taken Notice of that bitter Reflection, which the King did not: But if the Substance of that Sarcasm had been told the King decently and privately, it might have had a good Operation; whereas what was spoken was then taken for a Jest only, and so the King passed it by. Now if we seriously reflect on the first Twelve Years of this King's Government, we shall not find in the like Space of Time, either at home or abroad, so great Plenty of all things for the Delight of Mankind, nor find so long a Time free from Injustice and Oppression, where the King and Lords did less oppress the Commons, and where there was so great a Condescension to tender Consciences: And if it be true, that as *Multa funera sunt opprobria Medicorum*, so *Multa supplicia sunt opprobria Principum*; it must be much for the Honour and Memory of this King, that in his first Twelve Years Government, there was not one Nobleman put to Death, and so few of all others at the Assizes, that

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that the like was never known in the Memory of Man; and yet impartial Justice was executed every where. I heartily wish I could have said the same to this King's Death, for then undoubtedly he would have been *CHARLES the Good*, tho' not *CHARLES the Great*.

But alas! there now began to be a great Vicissitude of good and bad Events, and a very unsettled and various Management of publick Affairs, and not with such a Steadiness of Conduct as the fresh Experience of our then late Misfortunes might have instructed those with Courage and Constancy that were entrusted with them: But those Ministers that then served the King at the Helm of his Government, were much to blame to suffer such things, which were quickly reduced to a most unhappy Condition, betwixt the King and his ill-natured obstinate Subjects then assembled in Parliament, that by his Majesty's condescending to some things, which seemed of little or no Consequence when first yielded unto, yet they were afterwards made the Foundation of a great Battery against the King's Authority, Reputation, and Strength of his Government: But it was our own Ingratitude under so many great Advantages we then enjoyed beyond other People, which drew those Judgments from Heaven upon us. I confess, the *Roman* Catholicks who were peaceable and innocent, suffered at this time many grievous Persecutions, which were not only permitted by the King, but his Parliament was encouraged therein, tho' the King

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was not ignorant of their Innocence: Yet, to Persons that knew those Times, and how continually the King was teazed by those ill-natured Gentlemen of the House of Commons, it will be the less Wonder, that such things should happen in the Days of such a Prince, who had so yielding a Nature as the King. 'Tis true, the great Persecutions which the Christians suffered under the good Reign of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the *Roman* Emperor, were all imputed to him, how justly I cannot say; but our King did not only connive, but would often rally at the Extravagance of the House of Commons: And yet this I may truly say, that tho' he gave unlawful Permission to persecute the *Roman* Catholicks, whom he knew to be innocent; yet he always stood firm to keep the Succession of his Crown in its due and lawful Descent, and would never yield to have it altered, tho' he was pressed very violently to it, by great Artifices, which made him often prorogue Parliaments, and the King continued resolute in this Point, even to his Death.

In *June* 1672, Mr. *Borell* the *Holland* Minister, was with his Majesty, and desired the Admission of four Deputies from the States General, to know what the King desired, and said as many were appointed for *France*; but the King refused their Admission, and said, he would do nothing without the Participation of his Allies: However, he would be so generous as to do what he could that lay in his Power, and then named the Lord *Hallifax* his Envoy Extra-

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Extraordinary to the King of *France*, and would ſend him to confer with that King upon their Propoſals, and it was ſaid he ſhould go thro' *Holland*, and take Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* with him.

The Sixteenth of *January* following, the Duke of *Buckingham* had the ſame Cenſure from the Houſe of Commons as the Duke of *Lauderdale* had, to be both baniſhed from the King's Preſence for ever: Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* deſired to be heard in the Houſe of Commons, which was granted to him, and his Buſineſs was to lay all the Blame upon the Earl of *Arlington*, who alſo anſwered in the Houſe, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that he got immortal Reputation, to be a Man of Ability, Prudence, Conduct, and of great Temper, and ſo eſcaped the Cenſure of the Houſe.

About this time the *Marquis de Freſno*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *Spain*, preſented to the King a very warm Memorial, menacing a War, unleſs the King would embrace a Peace with *Holland*, upon theſe Three Points. The Firſt was, The Flag to Content, with Eight Hundred Thouſand Pattacoons, and the mutual Reſtitution of Places and Prizes taken in *Europe*: To which his Majeſty returned this following Anſwer.

That, if they would add a Promiſe to regulate the *Eaſt India* Trade, give Liberty of Departure to the *Engliſh* at *Surinam*, and not to Fiſh on the *Engliſh* Coaſt without Permiſſion; as to his Majeſty, he would be content: But

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that the Place of Treaty must be *Cologne*, and Respect paid to the Mediation of *Sweden*, which could not be avoided, because it was accepted by all: But because his Majesty's Answer to the said Memorial may be fully seen, I shall here repeat it, which was sent to me by the Lord *Arlington*, then Secretary of State.

His Majesty having seen and considered a Memorial delivered to him by his Excellency the Marquis de Fresno, *Ambassador Extraordinary from the Catholick King, bearing Date the 20th of* December *Instant, commands this Answer to be made thereunto.*

THAT he was not a little surprized to find the Contents of this Paper confirmed to him the Report of a Treaty made betwixt the King his Master and the States General of the United Provinces, *the Assisting of whom in this War was a manifest Breach of the separate Article in the Treaty betwixt the two Kings, binding them reciprocally, not to assist each other's Enemies in any open War: And his Majesty's Wonder thereupon hath been the greater, that the Treaty with the* States General *was never owned to him by the Ambassador himself, or by any other* Spanish *Minister; and that his Excellency was pleased to look upon it (when the Rumour thereof came first abroad) as a malicious Invention of the Enemies of the King of* Spain, *diffused only to create a Misunderstanding betwixt his Majesty and that Crown: Whereas now it seemed*

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to be a real Thing, and does no leſs, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Memorial, than threaten a War to his Majeſty, if he will not ſubmit himſelf to Conditions impoſed upon him by his declared Enemies: Notwithſtanding which, his Majeſty eſteems himſelf in ſome Degree beholden to the Catholick Queen, for having imparted to him the Terms and Conditions upon which the States General of the United Provinces *will be content to make a Peace; ſince, in ſo many Months that his Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries have been at* Cologne, *their Deputies could never be brought to make a clear Declaration of any Offers they would ſtand to, but held them ſtill under ſuch Ambiguities, as they might at all times recede from them as they ſhould ſee Cauſe.*

Now, altho' the Conditions offered in the ſaid Memorial are very ſmall, in reſpect of the great Expence of Blood and Treaſure that War hath coſt; yet, that the World may ſee how deſirous his Majeſty is to contribute to the general Peace of Chriſtendom, he declares he will be contented with any reaſonable Conditions for a Peace ſuitable to his Honour, and the Intereſt of his Subjects.

The Offers made in his Excellency's Name are,

Firſt, *The Flag to be adjuſted to his Majeſty's Satisfaction.*

Secondly, *A reciprocal Reſtitution of Places and Prizes that are, or may have been taken, during the late War.*

Third-

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Thirdly, *The Sum of Eight Hundred Thousand Pattacoons.*

Now, if the States General *will extinguish their Pretences to the Reſtitution of Prizes, as a Thing impracticable, and never inſiſted upon in any Treaty of Peace, and to the above-named Offers add theſe additional ones, which cannot well be denied:*

Firſt, *An equal and reciprocal Regulation of Trade in the* Eaſt Indies, *as was promiſed particularly in the late Treaty of* Bredah.

Secondly, *Leave to his Majeſty's Subjects yet detained at* Surinam, *to depart thence, with their Eſtates and Effects, purſuant to the ſaid Treaty, and their own reiterated Promiſes and Orders.*

Thirdly, *That the* States General *ſhall, for the future, abſtain from Fiſhing upon the Coaſts and Shores of any of his Majeſty's Dominions, without Leave and Paſſport firſt obtained:*

His Majeſty declares, that, as to himſelf, he will be content with theſe Conditions. But, becauſe the Wording of the Articles thereupon is of equal Moment to the Things that ſhall be contained in them, and that this cannot be effected but by Perſons equally intruſted and impowered on both Sides, his Majeſty farther declares, That he will direct his Plenipotentiaries at Cologne, *to apply themſelves, together with the Deputies of the* States General, *thereupon, with*

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with the Mediators of the Crown of Sweden; *who having been accepted and authorized on both Sides, and the City of* Cologne *having been insisted upon by the* Dutch, *to the Mediators, for the Place of Treaty; his Majesty conceiveth, that neither the Place nor the Mediators can be declined, without a notorious Offence to the Parties concerned, and more particularly to the Honour of the Crown of* Sweden. *And his Majesty assureth himself, that this his Proceeding will appear so fair and equal to the Catholick Queen, as not to lessen in any Degree, in her royal Breast, the Esteem she professes to have for his Friendship and Alliance, which his Majesty hath ever used, to his utmost Endeavour, to cultivate and improve; particularly, in making himself the principal Interest of the two Peaces of* Portugal *and* Aix la Chapelle, *so valuable to the Crown of* Spain, *in the Minority of their King; and in continuing the Peace between* France *and* Spain *from any Violation or Disturbance by this present War, as he did in the Treaty made with the most Christian King, when he entered into the Union and Confederation with him, against the* States General of the United Provinces.

Given at the Court at Whitehall, *the Fifteenth of* December 1673.

Signed

ARLINGTON.

Upon

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Upon this Memorial, many Members of Parliament had the States Generals Reply to his Majesty's Answer to the Memorial, sent inclosed to them in Print, before the King had received the Original. Sir *William Coventry* had four Copies sent him in several Pacquets, which he forthwith carried to the Lord Keeper, and his Lordship to the King; by which may be seen what incongruous things the States General suffered, who endeavoured to dethrone his Majesty, by their Appeal to his People, without taking Notice of the King. The Original of this Reply of the States General was sent to his Excellency the *Marquis de Fresno*, who thought it too scandalous for him to offer, and sent it back to the States with great Indignation: But towards the End of *January*, his Excellency presented a Letter from the States General to the King, wherein they granted Five of the Six Points in a full Manner, but they refused any Acknowledgment for the Fishing. The Ninth of *February* following, the Peace betwixt *England* and *Holland* was Signed and Sealed by the *Spanish* Ambassador, as Plenipotentiary for *Holland*, and by six Privy-Counsellours on the *English* Side, *viz.* The Lord Keeper, the Lord High Treasurer, Duke of *Monmouth*, Duke of *Ormond*, with the two principal Secretaries of State. The Scope of the Peace was as follows.

The Treaty of *Bredah* remains firm, the Marine Treaty confirmed for Nine Months, and that Commissioners should presently meet to regu-

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regulate the *East India* Trade, in which Regulation *Spain* to be left the Umpire, as it is the Guaranty of the whole Treaty; *New-York* to be restored; the *English* to come from *Surinam*; Eight Hundred Thousand Pattacoons to be paid in the Time specified; the *Dutch* Ships to strike in the *British* Seas, from Cape *Fenestre* to the *Naze* in *Norway:* An Article for hindering each from succouring the Enemies of the other; but no mention is made of the Fishing, that remaining in the same Condition it formerly was. *France* seemed much displeased at this Peace; but it was believed his Majesty of *England* would interpose as Mediator, which was not what most *Englishmen* desired, who would gladly see *France* reduced to the Treaty *Pyrrhenean.* The Peace betwixt *England* and *Holland* being thus settled, the *Spanish* Ambassador took Leave of his Majesty, and embarked on the *Assistance* Frigat, commanded by Sir *Richard Munden*, and *Don Emanuel de Lyra* was named Envoy in the Ambassador's Place; and I think it a Right owing to my Lord *Arlington*, to insert here a true Translation of the Letter which the *Spanish* Ambassador wrote from *St. Andrè* in in *Spain*, bearing Date the 30th of *August* 1674, which was sent me by the Lord *Arlington.*

Most Excellent Sir,

GRatitude *will not permit me to lose any Occasion of manifesting the same, which I now do by the Return of Sir* Richard Munden; *for the Honours done me by his Majesty of* Great Britain,

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Britain, *have been so singular, and have raised me so much Esteem and Glory, that my Obligation is not to be expressed; so that I must beseech your Excellency to lay my Duty at his Majesty's Feet, and to acquaint him of my Arrival in* Spain, *which hath been with so prosperous and remarkable a Voyage, that on the fifth Day in the Morning we discovered the Coast of* Biscay; *and had I intended to go to the* Groyn, *we had been there that Day. In this Dispatch I must attribute much to the great Care and Dexterity of our Captain, and to his very courteous Usage of me, the better supporting all the Trouble which the Inconveniences of the Sea would give a sick Man: And for all this I pay to his Majesty (unto whose Grandeur it is due) infinite Thanks, and shall still publish to the World my Sense and Acknowledgments of All; and for the Friendship and Favour which I owe to your Excellency, I shall always correspond with the sincerest Truth and Passion I am able. God preserve your Excellency. From* St. Andrè, August 30. 1674.

But before I go farther, I will give an Account how I came to these honourable Employments on this Side the Sea.

Be pleased then to know, that, at the Lord *Wentworth*'s Death, which happened a little before the Burning of *London*, I was, by the King's Command signified to me by the Lord *Arlington*, Principal Secretary of State, appointed to take Care of his Funeral, and the Manner of it was then prescribed me. His Lord-

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Lordship was a Privy-Counsellour, Collonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, and was before Major General of all the Horse in *England*, and General of the Horse in the West of *England*, and, at his Death, was Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-chamber. When I had carried his Body in State, as the King commanded, to *Teddington* in *Bedfordshire*, to be buried with his Ancestors, and that I returned to *London*, the Bills of the Charges of the Funeral were brought to me, which I gave the Lord *Arlington*; but Money being then very rare, and the King no very good Paymaster, the Merchants expected their Money from me; and the Lord *Wentworth* having received some Money from me, which was due to some Companies of the Regiment, the Captains thereof complaining that their Companies were not paid, the Matter was left to be adjusted by the Duke of *Albemarle*, who was General. The Merchants being very importunate for their Money, I thought best to retire, and came to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where many *English* Officers coming daily, I was soon discovered, and taken Prisoner, and at first was used very hardly by the Jayler, who had Orders to keep me in his own Apartments, to eat and drink with him, and that I should have Ten Shillings *English* daily allowed me, for Diet, Lodging, and all Necessaries, which should be paid before I was released; and Sir *Mark d'Ogniati* (who was of *Bruges*) and at that time Resident for the King of *Spain* at *London*, engaged to see all punctually paid.

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When my Circumſtances were better known, I was uſed very well; and it being then that the King of *France* began his Pretenſions upon *Flanders*, in Right of the *Dauphin*, and many *Spaniſh* Officers being then in *Bruges*, I had every Day much Company, and knew all that paſſed in the Army, of which I gave an Account each Poſt to the Earl of *Arlington*, who being then Principal Secretary of State, ſhewed my Letters to the King, who being pleaſed with them, aſked the Lord *Arlington*, who ſent thoſe Letters? who thereupon told his Majeſty, that he had them from me, who was then a Priſoner in *Bruges:* Whereupon the King preſently anſwered, that he had ſeen no Letters that pleaſed him ſo much, and that gave ſo clear Accounts; and that if I could give ſuch Accounts in Priſon, I ſhould give much better when out: And therefore the King bid his Lordſhip take Care, that I ſhould be forthwith releaſed, and ſent over to him; tho' his Majeſty knew I was at that time reconciled, and made a *Roman* Catholick, by Father *John Croſs*, who was Preſident at *Douay*, and at that time Confeſſor to the *Engliſh* Nuns in the Prince's Hoffe at *Bruges*. Upon this Intimation from the King, Sir *Mark d'Ogniati* was deſired by the Lord *Arlington* to write to *Bruges*, what the Account came to for my Impriſonment, and all Neceſſaries, and that all ſhould be ſuddenly paid; upon which the Jayler came to tell me the good News: But I told him I was very well where I was, and being out of Danger, that I had a very

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very good Allowance, and could no where live so well, and that I would not stir from Prison, unless, after paying all the Charges, I might have Money to put me in Equipage, and then I would willingly and faithfully serve the King: That from my Scituation in Prison I could see the Vanity and Hurry of the World, where miserable Men were daily distracting themselves in wearisom contentious Wars, about the Greatness of an empty World; and I could look safely upon them, never intermeddling with the Actions of others, but spend my Thoughts in my own little Sphere, and lay down my Head in Peace, and sleep securely in the Bosom of Providence. Within few Days after I had given this Account, Money was sent to pay all the Charges of the Prison, with One Hundred Pounds *Sterling* to put me in good Equipage; the Return of Money being then very high, and much to my Advantage, I received what was ordered, and was forthwith released from Prison.

So soon as I was at Liberty, I went to the Earl of *Castlehaven*, and knowing he had a great Influence upon *Don Pedro de Ronquillos*, who was Super-Intedant at *Brussels*, I desired he would speak to *Don Pedro* in my Behalf, that I might be Auditor to the *Scotch* Regiment of Foot; which Place was then vacant, and the Regiment was National, commanded by Collonel *Scot* of *Tekelah*, Kinsman to the Duke of *Monmouth*. Hereupon his Lordship recommended me to *Don Pedro*, who was pleased to

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examine me, and finding me fit for the Employment, gave me his Certificate to the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, who was then Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in Place of *Marquis Caſtle Roderigo:* But the Plague being then at *Bruſſels*, the Conſtable ſtayed at *Malines*, and, upon pretending much Indiſpoſition of Health, deſired he might return into *Spain*. However, he ſent the *Marquis de Velaſco* to compliment our King upon his coming to the Government, who ſent Sir *Edward Spraig* to return his Compliment, and the Queen ſent Mr. *Roper* on her Part. So ſoon as the Plague ceaſed at *Bruſſels*, the Conſtable returned thither, where I found a Way to ſpeak to him, and gave him *Don Pedro*'s Certificate, with a *Placet* from my ſelf, and had his Excellency's Promiſe of Diſpatch, which he performed the next Day, to the great Admiration of all the *Commis* in the Secretary's Office, that I being a Stranger could get my Buſineſs ſo ſoon done, when many General Officers of the Army had been waiting ſome Months without Diſpatch. Thus I preſently got the Auditor's Place, and had the Conſtable's Patent for it; and when the Conſtable, upon his own importunate Deſire, returned for *Spain*, I was then garriſoned in the *Fauxburgs* of *Ghent*, and we had Orders not to beat any Drums, or to make the leaſt Noiſe whilſt the Conſtable paſſed in his Barque.

Upon the Conſtable's going for *Spain*, the *Count de Monterrey*, who was *Maſter de Camp* of a *Spaniſh* Regiment, was made Governour

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pro Interim, and was after confirmed Governour General of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, where he continued ſix Years, and was the beſt Governour I ever ſaw in them. He paid the Soldiers Ten Months in the Year, kept the Country in very good Order, ſo that there was no Fear of Robbery; but it coſt the Lives of many Men, and I have ſeen Fifteen or Sixteen hanging together upon the Canal, betwixt *Bruſſels* and *Willibrook*, for Robberies committed there.

Not long after Count *Monterrey*'s coming to the Government of *Flanders*, the Congreſs was appointed at *Cologne*. The Plenipotentiaries for our King were Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Judge of our Admiralty, and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, from both which I received Letters to go to the *Hague*, to buy ſome Horſes and Coaches for them; and I was particularly recommended by them to Monſieur *Marine*, Firſt Eſquire to the Prince of *Orange*, to take his Opinion and Advice in the Choice of them. I was to buy two Setts of Eight Horſes for each Coach, and the Coaches likewiſe, if I could get them good and cheap: After which I was deſired to meet them at *Antwerp*, in their Way to the Congreſs, which I did according to their Directions. At their coming to *Antwerp*, they ſent me to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Sir *William Lockart*, who were then with the King of *France*, at a Houſe belonging to the King of *Spain*, Three Miles from *Bruſſels*. I there found the aforenamed Perſons with the King, who was then marching to beſiege *Maeſtricht*.

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The Duke of *Monmouth* was made a Lieutenant General in the King's Army, and Sir *William Lockhart* was our King's Ambaſſador with the *French* King. At my Return to the Plenipotentiaries, I waited upon them to *Cologne*, and after came back to *Bruſſels*, where I was employed ſeveral times by their Excellencies, betwixt *England* and *Cologne*, upon great Occaſions, and was ordered by them to hold a ſtrict Correſpondence with Mr. *Neipho*, who lived then at *Antwerp*, and was ordered to ſerve our Plenipotentiaries in all he could.

At this time I found the Count *Monterrey* was no Friend to our Plenipotentiaries, nor indeed to our Maſter, or his Intereſt, in any Caſe, and was particularly a great Friend to the Capers at *Oſtend*, which Neſt of Pyrates did much Hurt to our *Engliſh* Merchants, ſeizing all *Engliſh* Ships they could find trading with *France*, tho' their Trade was freely allowed by the Treaty of 1667, ſolemnly ratified by both Crowns: But the Count *Monterrey* would not allow that Treaty, becauſe he ſaid it was never publiſhed in *Flanders*, which was their own Fault, for the Ratification, not the Publication, makes all Treaties effectual: And yet our King bore all theſe Affronts with incredible Patience, expecting that the Count *Monterrey* would better inform himſelf, both of the Matters of Fact, and of the Law; for certainly the Articles of that Treaty were ſo plain and clear in the Point, that the Caſe was adjudged, as ſoon as compared with the Terms of the Treaty; and the King

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was ſtill in Hopes, that the Count would be made ſenſible of the unſufferable Affront, as well as the Injuſtice of ſuch Proceeding of the Privateers was to his Majeſty, even to ſuch a Degree, that his Majeſty was thinking of another Way to right his Subjects, if ſudden Reparation came not by fair Means.

Neither was the Count *Monterrey* only refractory in this, but was highly diſpleaſed at my being employed by the Plenipotentiaries at *Cologne*, and told Father *Patrick* (who was then called Abbot of *Thuly*) that there was a little *Engliſhman* (whoſe Name he knew not) that was employed by the Ambaſſadors at *Cologne*, of which Father *Patrick* gave me Notice, and ſaid, that, by the Deſcription, he was almoſt confident that his Excellency meant me: And the next Day, as I was going to Dinner, at the *Great Looking-Glaſs* in the *Berge Street*, where I lodged, a Servant told me, there was a Gentleman without that would ſpeak with me. Whereupon I went out to him, and told him, I was juſt going to Dinner. He ſaid, he was Adjutant to his Excellency, and that I muſt preſently go with him. Upon which I deſired his Leave to go into my Chamber, to put on another Peruke, and that a Coach ſhould be made ready in the mean time, and ſo I would go with him. When I came to Court, I met Viſcount *Berlin* (who was then Governour of *Bruſſels*) in the Anti-Chamber, who told me his Excellency was in the next Room, and would ſpeak a Word with me; and thereupon led

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led me in to his Excellency, who asked me three or four Questions before I could answer him one of them: As, what I did at *Brussels*, why I went so often to *Cologne* and *England*? I told him, I was employed by the *English* Ambassadors at *Cologne*, to receive and send their Letters; and that I should wait upon his Excellency in few Days, to get an *Escorte* to carry some things from *England* to the Plenipotentiaries. To which his Excellency replied, That if what I said was true, *Antwerp* was a fitter Place for me than *Brussels*, and that he would not permit my longer Stay at *Brussels*. To which I answered, That there being no open War declared between *England* and *Spain*, and so long as I obeyed the Laws of the Country, it was lawful for me to stay: And besides, that I was indebted in my Lodging, and could not go till I had satisfied All. In fine, his Excellency told me, these were only Excuses which I made, and commanded Viscount *Berlin*, that the Adjutant should see me go out of Town that Night, and that *Antwerp* was a much fitter Place for me than *Brussels*; and so I left his Excellency, and went presently to Father *Patrick*, who lived near the Court, to inform him of what had happened, and desired him to send to Mr. *Chaumont* for my Letters, and open them in my Absence, and then send them to me at Mr. *Neipho*'s at *Antwerp*.

The next Day the Letters came, and one from Sir *Robert Southwell* to me, giving an Account of the Peace signed that Day in Council,

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he being then Clerk of the Council. He told me, the Writings were ſcarce dry upon the Council Table; but however, he thought neceſſary to give me a ſpeedy Account of it, for the Information of others. Father *Patrick* carried this Letter in his Pocket late on *Saturday* Night, and ſaid, he came to give his Excellency Joy of the Peace that was made in *England*. His Excellency anſwered, it was true that the Peace was made, and that he was very angry with the *Marquis de Freſno*, who told him, he had been all that Day in Council, and was ſo weary, that he could not give him an Account till the next Poſt, of all the Particulars. Whereupon Father *Patrick* ſaid, he would ſhew him all the Particulars, which his Excellency was very deſirous to ſee; and having peruſed them, he deſired to know from whom he had them; and the Father told him, that Sir *Robert Southwell* had ſent them to the Gentleman he had ſent to *Antwerp*, who had given him Leave to open his Letters in his Abſence, and to ſend them to him. His Excellency preſently ſaid, *I know Sir* Robert Southwell *to be a very honeſt Man, and well inclined to us; and if the Gentleman I ſent to* Antwerp *keeps a Correſpondence with him, I believe he may be honeſt alſo; and therefore I pray ſend for him back, and let him bring his little Horſe with him, of whom I have heard great Miracles.* On *Monday* I came back, and his Excellency ſent for Mr. *Chicati* (who was Maſter of the Academy at *Bruſſels*) to ride the Horſe round the Park, and to give him an

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Account of the Horſe, who gave ſuch an Account of him, that his Excellency would by all Means buy the Horſe of me. I told him, I could not ſell him; but if his Excellency would pleaſe to accept of him, with his *Engliſh* Equipage, I would preſent him; but he refuſed to have him, unleſs he might buy him, and ſo I ſaved my Horſe and my Honour alſo. But I muſt not forget to do Father *Patrick* this Right, that upon his Excellency's commanding me from *Bruſſels*, he forthwith wrote Word of it to the Lord *Arlington*, and what Danger I did run, by being employed without a Commiſſion. But whilſt I was at *Cologne*, I received this Letter following from our Ambaſſadors Plenipotentiaries, bearing Date in the Afternoon of the 12th of *July* 1673.

Good Mr. Bulſtrode,

IT hath been our great Unhappineſs, that Mr. Frances *took his Leave of this Place this Morning, without receiving from Mr.* Chudleigh *(Secretary to our Embaſſy) thoſe Diſpatches which he had prepared for his Conveyance; ſo that he will appear to my Lord* Arlington *with his Hands in a manner empty. You are therefore deſired to follow him Day and Night with the Pacquet which Mr.* Chudleigh *will deliver you, as faſt as you can poſſibly, till you overtake him. It is of very great Importance to the Publick, and to us in particular. You are not to ſtop, tho' you follow him to* Whitehall; *and you are to put the Pacquet into his own Hands, without taking any*

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any Notice of this Accident: And if he ſhould be arrived, and ſhewed himſelf, and delivered his Letters, before you overtake him, you are (having ſhewed him this Letter from us) to leave it to his Direction, to excuſe this Accident as well as he can, and then you are to return hither, without taking any farther Notice of this Occaſion. We are, Good Mr. Bulſtrode,

Your very Affectionate Friends to ſerve you,

L. JENKINS.
JOS. WILLIAMSON.

Upon this emergent Occaſion I got to *Antwerp* before Mr. *Frances*, tho' he parted from *Cologne* in the Morning, and I did not leave it till late in the Evening, and having ſhewed him my Letter from the Ambaſſadors, and given him all his other Diſpatches, I haſtened into *Flanders*, after I had taken a Turn into *Holland*, and viſited all Places both by Land and Sea, and from thence I made a ſhort Step into *England*, to give the King an Account of what I had ſeen, which I put into Writing ſo fully to his Majeſty's Satisfaction, that he cauſed my Relation to be entered into the Council-Book; and having done this, I went to find my Brother *Henry*, who was very private in *London*, after having had the Misfortune to kill a *Suſſex* Gentleman, his Neighbour, in a Duel (tho' with all the Fairneſs and Honour ſo unfortunate an Accident is capable to have ſaid for it) and tho' wounded himſelf, yet he was ſo ſeverely proſe-

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profecuted, that he muſt leave *England*. Upon which Occaſion, after ſerious Conſideration of his Condition, I moved my Lord *Arlington* privately, to get his Majeſty's Leave, that my Brother might go over with me into *Holland*, and I would undertake to place him where he ſhould give his Lordſhip conſtant Accounts of what paſſed in thoſe Parts worthy his Knowledge, and that by his great Diligence and Induſtry ſhould merit his Majeſty's Pardon, if not his Grace and Favour. But, in order to this, I did beg his Lordſhip, that a Letter might be written to the Maſter of the Pacquet-Boat at *Harwich*, not to let the Boat go off with the Letters till my Arrival, which ſhould be with all Speed, and that none who came with me might be queſtioned, but that we might freely embark: Which being granted to me, I carried my Brother, where I placed him very well for his Majeſty's Service, which he ſo punctually performed, that he did not only get the King's Pardon under the Great Seal, but did his Majeſty ſuch farther Service, that he was rewarded for it. From *Holland* I went into *Flanders* by the Way of *Sluys*, and dined with Monſieur *La Leok*, the Governour, who was Brother to Monſieur *Odyke* of *Zealand*. From *Flanders* I went to *Bruſſels*, where I was not many Days before I received a Patent from the King, to be his Agent at the Court at *Bruſſels*, with a civil Letter to the Governour, the *Count de Monterrey*, telling him, that for ſome particular Reaſons he had not thought fit to ſend me thoſe Powers ſooner,

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ſooner, which were antedated ſome Months before. Upon this I was very kindly received by his Excellency, and from that time acknowledged for the King's Miniſter, the greateſt Cauſe of which, next to my Diligence in the King's Service, I muſt attribute to the Letter of Father *Patrick* to my Lord *Arlington*, upon my being commanded from *Bruſſels* by the *Count de Monterrey*, and at that time acting without a Commiſſion. But I muſt not forget, that, at my Return to *Bruſſels*, I did diſſwade Father *Patrick* from going into *England*, which before he had reſolved to do, knowing it would not only be very prejudicial to the King, but very diſadvantageous to the Lord *Arlington*, who at that time had many conſiderable Enemies, and that nothing was moved more ſtrongly againſt him, than Father *Patrick*'s lodging at his Houſe in the *Park*, of which my Lord's Enemies made great Uſe: But his Lordſhip was ſo wiſe as to change the Pen for the White Staff, had the Golden Key delivered to him, and was declared Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* was forthwith declared, and ſworn Secretary of State in his Place, who ſent the ſeveral Letters of Complaint, of the Violences committed upon our Merchants Ships, by the inſolent Capers of *Oſtend*, againſt whom we could never get any Juſtice done, during the Government of the *Count de Monterrey*, who would not own the Treaty of 1667, which was the Rule we were to go by, in all the Diſputes between the *Engliſh* Merchants and the Capers,

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Capers, which Treaty was solemnly ratified by both Crowns. Whereupon I received the following Letter from Sir *Joseph Williamson*, dated the 21st of *September* 1674, in these Words following.

Good Mr. Bulstrode,

IT is beyond Belief, to see with what intolerable Insolence the Capers of Ostend *treat all the King's Subjects: The Treaty of* Madrid *in* 1667 *must be stood upon, it being express in the Point; and till the* Count de Monterrey *can have Time to consider and judge of it himself, 'tis but just he should issue out present Orders to the Admiralty, not to proceed in any of those Cases, till his farther Order; and that is the Point you must press immediately at Court, and get clear and full Proofs of all Wrongs, Injuries, and Threats done, or given out by them, against any* Englishman, *and demand Satisfaction of them, and at the same time certify them over hither, that if Justice be denied there, the King may please to consider what he will farther do; and continue to press hard for speedy Justice in the Case of all seized Ships and Goods, and to get the Treaty of* 1667 *owned as the standing Rule in all those Concerns; and be sure to insist, that it hath been allowed in all Cases amongst us here in our Admiralty, as Sir* Leoline Jenkins, *Judge of that Court, hath assured me.*

And the 14th of *December* following, I received this from him.

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Good Mr. Bulſtrode,

IT is ſaid now, that our People themſelves, either out of Ignorance or Malice, have given the Oſtenders *great Advantages in ſeveral Caſes, by confeſſing their carrying double Bills of Lading, and caſting Papers overboard, with ſuch like indecent Practices, which in all Times, and in all Countries, are reputed juſt Cauſe of Condemnation, as was practiſed in* England *in the* Dutch *Wars. If this be ſo, they may thank themſelves if ſuch Caſes be given againſt them. But, upon the whole Matter, the Proceedings of the Capers ſhould be ſtraitly watched, and upon what Grounds the Sentences are pretended to be given, that ſo the Matter may be received and judged on this Side. In the mean time, it is manifeſt, that the King omits nothing that he can poſſibly and lawfully do for his Subjects, who are very unjuſt and ungrateful to his Majeſty, to lay any Part of the Blame upon the King or his Miniſters, as I hear ſome of them do. It is neceſſary for you to have an exact Liſt of all Ships at any time carried up by the* Oſtenders, *and I pray try to get one, with Affidavits of the moſt notorious of theſe Capers, for we may find a Way to meet with them, when they leaſt think of it. I have ſent you an Exemplar of the Treaty of* 1667, *by which it will appear, how notoriouſly their Proceedings are againſt the expreſs Words of the Treaty. What the Secretary of his Excellency ſays,* That the Way to prevent all Diſputes, is to have a new Treaty made, *is true;*

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true; but we insist to have the present Treaty executed: And if any Cases now arise, wherein no Provision is yet made, it may not be improper to propose the having a Rule made for such Cases; but as far as the present Treaty reaches, That is to be our standing Rule. And as for the Ship with Plate on board, I see no Reason That should differ the Case, it coming from Tangier; *and let the Goods be what they would (not being counterband) the Ship being* English *ought to free them: For, by the Treaty, an* English *Ship is at Liberty to carry all Goods (even to the Enemies of* Spain, *so they be not counterband) and there is to be no Inquiry into her Lading, all being free, the Ship being* English.

You are, for the future, to expect Mr. Secretary Coventry's *Orders in all Matters from the King, because you are now in his District, he having prevailed with his Majesty, that* Brussels *may be joined to his Province, being under the* Spanish *Government.*

On the 22d of *January* 1674, I had this following Letter from Sir *Joseph Williamson.*

Good Mr. Bulstrode,

I *Would lose no Time, upon the News of the* Duc de Villa Hermosa's *being the assured Successor to* Count de Monterrey, *to pay him my Compliments; and I beg, Sir, you will do me the Favour to deliver the inclosed, with the Offers of my humble Service, as one that has ever had a very particular Value and Honour for the Person*

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Perſon and Merit of the Duke, and in Conformity to the Joy our Maſter hath at the Choice, aſſuring you, that the King hath a very good Opinion of the Duke; and I hope the King of Spain *his Maſter may have Cauſe to be glad, by the good Effects it may produce during his Government.*

Mr. Secretary *Coventry* wrote to me, That denying the Treaty of *Flanders* was of ſo great Concern, having been ſo long ſince ratified, that I ſhould inform my ſelf of the *Count de Monterrey*, before his Departure for *Spain*, whether he made any Scruple of owning it; of which I gave Mr. Secretary an Account, that his Excellency made Difficulty to acknowledge it. Whereupon Mr. Secretary anſwered, That he never thought it would have been a Queſtion with the Governour of *Flanders*, whether a Treaty of univerſal Extent, made, ſigned, and ratified at *Madrid*, ſhould be complied with in *Flanders*? For, if *Oſtend* was in the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, the Treaty reached it. Mr. Secretary, upon this, ſent an Account to our Ambaſſador in *Spain*, not to intreat an Order, but to expoſtulate the Matter with that Crown, and the Secretary had for Anſwer, That they admired how his Excellency ſhould make a Queſtion of obſerving that Treaty, ſo nationally ratified as it was: That then they had ſent Orders upon it, which before they could not have thought neceſſary. Count *Monterrey* did then, before his Departure,

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ſend a Letter to our King, to ſend over Captain *Berthold* (who was then Priſoner in *England*) to be tryed in *Flanders*; but his Majeſty would not make ſuch a Precedent againſt himſelf, as not to vindicate his Flag's Right againſt any thing that ſhould affront it, when he finds them in his own Dominions, and would give this Anſwer to *Baron de Bergeyk*, whenever he ſhould demand it. In the mean time, that what he wrote, was only to inform me of the State of the Thing, that if it ſhould be diſcourſed by any of the Miniſters, I might be furniſhed with Reaſons to defend the Proceedings of my Maſter, but not as ordered ſo to do, but as of my ſelf: That the *Count de Monterrey* was much miſinformed in the Matter, the Captain's refuſing to ſtrike being witneſſed by the whole Sloop's Crew, both Officers and Soldiers: That this was done with reproachful Terms, commanding our Captain to ſtrike in the Name of the King of *Spain*, (an Inſolence never committed before, and againſt the Peace betwixt the two Crowns) and pyratically forced away the *Engliſh* Ship, being under the King's Flag, in our own Channel: That this being the Caſe, and the Offender taken on the King's Ground (the Iſle of *Wight*) there could be no more Queſtion of the King's Right to try this Man, than if he had come and robbed in the *Thames*: That I might likewiſe ſay, that Captain *Berthold* and his Comerades have been tryed by a Jury of Twelve Men, Half of which (according to our Law) were Aliens, and found Guilty, and

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have received their Sentence, and have humbly petitioned the King, for a Releaſe of their Impriſonment, to which the King hath conſented, and hath given Order accordingly; and that the Matter of the Flag, upon the Inſult offered to Mr. *Porter*, his Majeſty's Envoy to the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa*, which Inſult was before *Oſtend*, was laid by till the Arrival of *Don Pedro de Ronquillos*, who was daily expected, his Goods being already come.

About this time I had a Letter from Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, wherein he told me, he was ſorry to hear of nothing but Words in the Buſineſs of our Ships: That Provocations were rather daily renewed, than any Satisfaction given, and even Inſults of a higher Nature: That *Don Franciſco Marco de Velaſco*, Envoy from the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa* to compliment the King upon his coming to the Government of *Flanders*, had taken his Leave, and *Don Pedro de Ronquillos* was daily expected as Envoy Extraordinary from *Spain*, who had promiſed to begin his Buſineſs with that of the *Engliſh* Ships carried up by the *Oſtenders*; which was become ſo clamorous a Cauſe, that, without ſome ſpeedy Reparation, no body knew what would follow. That indeed the Inſolence of thoſe Capers was intolerable; and not only thoſe, but the *Majorcans* in the *Mediterranean*, were grown inſupportable, by the Number of Complaints brought daily to the King, for which he had commanded his Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, to declare, that if ſpeedy and effectual Repara-

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tion were not made, his Majesty could not longer withstand the thing, and that it would be impossible to deny Letters of Reprisal to so many crying Cases of his Subjects that called for them: That, it happening that the Yacht which carried Mr. *Porter*, his Majesty's Envoy to return the Compliment of the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, coming before *Ostend*, met with a *Spanish* Man of War, which, according to Custom, he required to strike, and for that Purpose pierced his Rigging with some Shot; but the Man of War not only finally refused to strike, but at last gave the Yacht one Gun with a Bullet in it, which was resented as it ought to be, and put into a legal Way of examining first, and would after be proceeded in according to the ordinary Custom of the Law, as a Crime of a high Misdemeanor, and constantly punished as such by the Laws of our Kingdom; but because *Don Pedro de Ronquillos* was soon expected at *London*, this Business would be deferred till his Arrival.

Being informed by a Person of Honour at *Brussels*, that the *Count de Monterrey* would return into *Spain* by the Way of *France*, because his Excellency thought his Presence would not be acceptable to our King, I did thereupon acquaint Mr. Secretary *Coventry* with it, who told me, That having acquainted the King with what I wrote, his Majesty was much surprized, not knowing the Cause for such a Jealousy: That it was true, the daily Complaints made by his Subjects, of the ill Treatments they received from

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from *Oſtend*, and the ſmall or no Satisfaction that he had received, notwithſtanding the reiterated Letters of his Majeſty, did much diſpleaſe him: But, as to the Perſon of his Excellency, the King had no particular Diſſatisfaction; but, on the contrary, if his Excellency pleaſed to ſee *England* in his Return, he needed no way doubt of receiving Reſpects ſuitable to his Quality, and high Employment he had in *Flanders*. However, the *Count de Monterrey* did not think fit to paſs thro' *England* in his Return, but went thro' *France*.

In *September* following, the King wrote a Letter to the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa*, which was ſent to me from *Windſor*, to be delivered, which being faithfully tranſlated from the *French*, runs thus in *Engliſh*.

My Couſin,

I *Have a great Regret to write to you upon the Complaints of my Subjects, but that I am daily importuned concerning the Hindrance of their Commerce and Navigation coming from the Ports under Obedience of his Catholick Majeſty. That which I ſhall at preſent tell you, is of a double Affront by two Privateers of* Oſtend *(the one commanding a Frigat of Twelve Guns, with Two Hundred Men, the other of Six Guns, with One Hundred Men) offered to me as well as my Subjects. A ſmall Ship carrying my Colours, and having in Convoy a Galliot Merchant belonging to* London, *meeting with the ſaid two Privateers, about the Height of my Iſland of* Guernſey,

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gave them usual Notice to strike, which they did not only refuse, but by an unheard of Insolence, commanded my Ship to strike to them, and to compleat their Outrage, took the said Merchant, and carried it to Ostend. *You may well judge, that this Proceeding is not agreeable to Friends and Allies: And therefore having represented it to you, I believe you will give your Orders for the Punishment of these sort of People, as well in this, as in all others of the like Nature, as my Agent at* Brussels *shall from time to time inform you of, that I may have no Cause to complain farther, but leave my self to your Justice in this Affair, and in all others to your Care, for Preservation of the Amity between me and the Catholick King, which shall be ever dear to me from,*

My Cousin,
Your Affectionate Cousin,

CHARLES R.

I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, dated the 9th of *November* (Old Style) in these Words following.

Good Mr. Bulstrode,

TO *morrow the Earls of* Arlington *and* Ossory *are to embark for the* Hague. *The Suddenness of the Journey gives great Jealousy of a Treaty of Peace, of which there is nothing, that remaining wholly under the Conduct of Sir* William Temple; *and they have no Character*

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rather but their own Titles, and are purely sent to the Prince of Orange. *The Merchants who have Intereſt in the Ship* St. George *of* London, *have made their Complaints to the King and Council, and his Majeſty is reſolved to ſpeak roundly about it to the* Baron de Bergeyk, *when he comes: But in the mean time it will ſurely be very proper for the Merchants concerned, that by your Interceſſion they ſhould have true Copies of the Proofs and Reaſon of the Judgment, which cannot in Reaſon be denied them, which I will ſend to the Judge of our Admiralty; and if there be real Exceptions in Point of Law, Matter of Fact being ſtated on both Sides, our Buſineſs will go on much more formally, and the King make his Complaints upon a more ſolid Ground, than the bare Allegation of the Merchants intereſſed, upon whoſe Complaint the Council would adviſe nothing poſitive, tho' they were very ſenſible of the Injuſtice. In the* Interim *I am commanded by his Majeſty, that you ſhould exhibite the State of the Caſe to the Miniſters at* Bruſſels, *and demand in his Majeſty's Name, that either the Fact be avowed or elſe diſproved, by letting you ſee the authentick Document of the Court; and the King will, upon a true State of the Matter, conſider how to redreſs ſuch of his Subjects, as have truly been wronged contrary to the Treaty of* 1667: *And as for ſuch who by their own Folly, in carrying double Cockets, and other forbidden Ways, have brought themſelves into thoſe Streights, they muſt be content with ſuch Misfortunes as they bring upon themſelves*

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ſelves by their own ill Conduct. I have ſent the Merchants concerned, with the State of their Caſe, to the Count de Bergeyk, *and I deſire to hear from you, how he does report it at* Bruſſels, *and what Succeſs they are like to have.*

I received a Letter dated at *Whitehall*, the 5th of *February* 1674, from Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, in theſe Words.

Good Mr. Bulſtrode,

THO' we are in Peace with all the World, as with Spain, *yet all the Ships of* France, Holland, *and all the reſt of* Europe, *do not give us the tenth Part of that Trouble that the King of* Spain's *Dominions do. But I hope your new Governour will repair the Grievances our Merchants have long been under; and I ſhall be very glad his good Inclinations, with thoſe which* Don Pedro de Ronquillos *expreſſes towards our Merchants, might appear, and that we ſhall receive ſome Satisfaction therein; and that the good Aſſurances the* Duc de Villa Hermoſa *giveth us, will appear by the Effects. You may aſſure the Duke, that my own Inclinations to keep all things quiet, are ſufficiently known; but the Mockeries and Prevarications of the* Spaniſh *Miniſters cannot be longer palliated, Repriſals are granted by the Treaty, after Juſtice ſought any long Time; and whether that hath not been denied, and the Time reaſonable for Satisfaction eſcaped,*

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escaped, let the World judge. I am very concernedly

Your Humble Servant,

H. COVENTRY.

At last, after many Letters from Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, and reiterated Addresses of mine, we obtained this ensuing Order from his Excellency, which being faithfully translated out of *Spanish*, runs thus, being signed by the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, and by his Secretary, *Turietta.*

LET the ancient Order be observed, which is to give Communication unto both Parties, of the Proofs, and of all other Documents of the Process, which I do not only command should be executed in that which is under Consultation, concerning the Ship St. George *of* London, *but also in all other Processes which the Admiralty Council may have withdrawn, or henceforth shall withdraw to their Board: And I do likewise ordain, That this Resolution shall serve as a Rule for all Times: And I do also ordain, That, in all Suits which shall happen with the Subjects of his Majesty of* Great Britain, *the Treaty of the Year* 1667 *be observed; and that it be the Law by which he judged, not only the depending Processes, but those also which may offer hereafter. And I do likewise command the Council, before Sentence be pronounced, to consult me in all such Suits which are now de-*

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pending between the Privateers of Ostend, *and the Subjects of the King of* Great Britain; *in the Decision whereof, all the Votes, as well of the Counsellours as of the Associates, shall not be conformable; and that each one of those that shall have given their Votes, do respectively express the Reasons upon which they ground their Opinion, the Plurality of Votes notwithstanding. And whereas it is convenient for the Service of the King our Master, and for the good Administration of Justice, that all the Suits now depending be finished with all Speed, I do order the Council to apply themselves with particular Care, to the avoiding superfluous and frivolous Delays, and to meet every Day, that no Time be lost in Decision of Affairs of so high a Consequence.*

Dated at Brussels, 1675. *Signed by the* Duc de Villa Hermosa, Conde de Luna, *&c. By Order from his Excellency Signed underneath,*

TURIETTA.

About this time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* wrote the following Letter to my Lord *Carliste*, dated the 29th of *March* 1675.

My Lord,

I Very much approve of what my Lord Mordaunt *and you told me you were about, and should, if I had been in Town, readily have joined with you, and, upon the least Notice have come up; for it's certainly all our Duties, and particularly mine, who have borne such Offices under the Crown,*

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Crown, to improve any Opportunity of a good Correſpondence and Underſtanding between the Royal Family and the People; and to leave it impoſſible for the King to apprehend, that we ſtand upon any other Terms that are not as good for him, as neceſſary for us: Neither can we fear to be accounted Undertakers at the next Meeting of Parliament; for I hope it ſhall never be thought unfit for any Number of Lords to give the King privately their Opinion, when aſked, which in former Days, thro' all the Northern Kingdoms, nothing of great Moment was acted by their Kings, without the Advice of the moſt conſiderable and active Nobility, that were within Diſtance, tho' they were not of the ordinary Privy-Council; ſuch Occaſions being not always of that Nature as did require the Aſſembling the great Council, or Parliament. Beſides, there are none ſo likely as us, nor Time ſo proper as now, to give the only Advice I know truly ſerviceable to the King, affectionate to the Duke, and ſecure to the Country (which is a new Parliament) which I do undertake at any time to convince your Lordſhip, is the clear Intereſt of all them. But, in the mean time, I muſt beg yours and my Lord Mordaunt's *Pardon, that I come not up as I intended, for I hear from all Quarters, of Letters from* Whitehall, *that do give Notice, that I am coming up to Town, that a great Office with a ſtrange Name is preparing for me, and ſuch like. I am aſhamed I was thought ſo eaſy a Fool by thoſe who ſhould know me better: But I aſſure your Lordſhip, there's no Place or Con-*

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dition will invite me to Court, during this Parliament, nor until I see the King thinketh frequent Parliaments as much his Interest, as they are the People's Right: For until then, I can neither serve the King as I could, nor think a great Place safe enough for a second Adventure. When our great Men have tried a little longer, they will be of my Mind; in the mean time, no kind of Usage shall put me out of that Duty and Respect I owe to the King and Duke: But I think it would not be amiss, for the Men that are in great Offices, who are at Ease, and where they would be, to be ordinarily civil to a Man in my Condition, since, they may be assured, that all their great Places put together shall not buy me from my Principles. My Lord, I beseech you to impart this to the Earl of Salisbury, *my Lord of* Falconbridge, *and my Lord* Hollis; *and when you four command me up, I will obey. I am sorry my Lord* Hallifax *had no better Success in his Summer's Negotiation, and that his Uncle Sir* William *could make no nearer Approach to the Ministers of State, than the Kissing of the King's Hand: I fear it is fatal to his Lordship to go so far, and no farther. My Dear Lord,*

I am most Affectionately and Sincerely

Your Lordship's most Devoted Servant.

In *September* 1675, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* wrote me this ensuing Letter.

Good

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Good Mr. Bulſtrode,

I *Underſtand that* Don Pedro de Ronquillos, *and the* Sieur Decio, *are come in Commiſſion to* Oſtend, *and have made Bargains with ſome particular Merchants, by way of Compoſition (tho' nothing concluded with his Majeſty as to Right) but theſe very Bargains and Contracts made with them by* Don Pedro *and* Decio, *who is a Burgher of* Oſtend, *are neither reſpected nor regarded; and if theſe Affronts are done and maintained by Order from the King of* Spain, *we muſt look upon it as a Violation of the Treaty: But if it be done by Particulars that will not give Obedience to his Catholick Majeſty, nor Satisfaction to us, I hope we ſhall not be blamed, if we right our ſelves by Repriſals, allowed by the Treaty againſt ſuch, as both in Contempt of our King and their own, do impudently continue their Inſolences. Sir, I pray you to aſſure his Excellency, that I have done my utmoſt to compoſe theſe Differences, but the no Satisfaction received, and the many Inſolences ſince done, maketh it impoſſible to ſuffer any much longer Delay. The Parliament now approaches, and when the oppreſſed Merchants ſhall there tell their Story, I know what Reproaches will be uttered againſt thoſe Miniſters that have not been quicker in giving Remedies to theſe Violences. I am ſorry, Sir, I can give you no other Anſwer upon this Matter; but without ſpeedy Reparation, Repriſals cannot be gainſayed; and what*

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what will follow then, the Lord knows. I am, Sir, with great Sincerity,

Your moſt Humble Servant,

H. COVENTRY.

About this time his Majeſty gave me Leave to come into *England*, and ſent the *Mary* Yacht to *Oſtend* for me, and ſome time after the King was pleaſed to ſend me to *Bruſſels*, with this following Letter to his Excellency.

CHARLES *par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de la* Grand Brittaine, *de la* France, *& d'*Irlande, *Defenſeur de la Foy*, &c. *a Tres Illuſtre & Tres Excellent Seigneur*, Charles *d'*Arragon, *Duc de* Villa Hermoſa, *Conde de* Luna, *Gouverneur General des* Pags Bas, *& de la* Burgoyne, *pour ſui Majeſtè Catholique, nôtre Tres Cher Amis, Salut*, &c. *Tres Illuſtre, & Tres Excellent Signeur, & Tres Cher Amis, Nôtre feal & aimè Sûjet*, Richard Bulſtrode, *que nous avions cy devant envoyé a* Bruxelles, *pour y reſider en qualitè de nôtre Agent, êtant depuis peu de retour icy, nous a fait tres amplement connoître l' Affection que vôtre Excellence nous porte, & nous a auſſi repreſentè fort au large la Bien Veillance qu'elle a pour nos Sûjets: Or pour une merque de la ſatisfation que nous avons receue de la bonne Conduite que le dit* Bulſtrode *a tenue dans l'Employ que nous luy avons confiè, & de la quelle auſſi vôtre Excellence temoign être bien ſatisfaite, par ſa Lettre du*

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du 12*me du Mois de* Decembre *dernier, l'ayant honoré de la dignité de Chevalier, nous luy avons ordonné de retourner incessament au dit* Bruxelles *pour y demeurer en qualité de nôtre Resident, luy ayant commandé en mesme temps de rendre a vôtre Excellence l'honneur & le respêt qui luy est due: Comme aussi d'observer avec soin & aplication les mesmes egards pour ce qui concerne l'amitie etroite qui est entre nous & le Sereniſſime Roy Catholique, que pour ce qui nous regardera, & le Bien de nos Sûjets. Nous ne doutons nullement que vôtre Excellence ne fausse un bon & favorable accueil a nôtre dit Resident, & qu'elle ne donna pareillement Creance a tout ce qu'il luy dira de nôtre part. Sur ce nous prions Dieu, qu'il ait vôtre Excellence en sa sainte & digne garde.*

Vôtre bon Amis,

CHARLES R.

Escrite de Whitehall, *le* 26 *de* Janvier 1675.
Signé plus bas,

HENRY COVENTRY.

In *June* 1675, the two Houses were in a great Heat with each other; whereupon, the Ninth of that Month, the Black Rod knocked at the Door of the House of Commons, and said, the King commanded them to wait upon him presently in the House of Lords. The King then told them, That he had called them toge-

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together, to secure their Religion and Properties, which he hoped they would have done successfully, seeing he had not offered any Business of his own to hinder or obstruct it, and had let them sit longer than he intended at first: That he designed only to have adjourned them for a short Time; but finding some of his and their Enemies had been able to make Differences between them, which could not be accommodated by any thing less than a Prorogation, he very unwillingly prorogued them to the 13th of *October*, when he hoped to meet them again in a better Temper, without springing new Differences, or reviving the old. The Members then posted down into their several Countries, dissatisfied enough, but with whom, or with what, they could not tell. They all agreed, the King did no more than Necessity required him to do, and some believed he had not done so much as he ought to have done, or must quickly do; for, that a Prorogation was not likely to do the Business, but that the Parliament must be dissolved, for that no Good could be expected from them, and that it was lost Labour to try them longer. After this Prorogation, the Marquess of *Winchester*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* appeared at Court, which was done by Permission; for the King being asked, if he would not take it ill, if they came, his Majesty's Answer was, That he forbid no Body, without any farther Encouragement. It seems the Two before-mentioned went likewise to St. *James*'s, and were at the Duke's Rising,

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and were received very kindly by his Royal Highneſs, which gave new Occaſion of Talk, and that the latter of them two would come ſoon into Play. The Parliament being again farther prorogued, and afterwards aſſembling, the Lords were very hot upon the Point of the Legality of that Parliament; and tho' thoſe that oppoſed were ſo few, that it was not worth being put to the Queſtion, yet it laſted a long Debate, and when the Debate was over, it was moved, that thoſe who firſt ſtirred the Scruple ſhould be puniſhed; and then how many ſhould be accounted liable? Whether the Duke of *Buckingham*, who firſt moved it, or others with him? And how many, and who? Upon which three others were named, *viz.* the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Shaftsbury*, and Lord *Wharton*: And a Debate aroſe, whether thoſe Lords ſhould withdraw as criminal, till their Puniſhment was agreed upon? The Queſtion being put, Whether the offending Lords ſhould withdraw? it was carried in the Affirmative. Then the Houſe called for the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was gone; upon which it was ordered, that the Black Rod ſhould take his Grace into Cuſtody, and bring him to the Houſe the next Day. Then the other Three were called, and required to aſk Pardon of the King and the Houſe, which they refuſed, and were thereupon ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*. The Duke of *Buckingham* appeared the next Day, and was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, becauſe he refuſed likewiſe to make the Acknowledgment.

Wedneſ-

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Wednesday the 29th of *February*, the Petition of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was read in the House, submitting to what the Lords should enjoin him, in begging Pardon of the King and their Lordships. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor told the House, That the King had also received a Petition from the said Earl; but understanding, that he endeavoured to free himself from their Censure, by an Appeal to the King's Bench, during the Adjournment of Parliament, his Majesty thought not fit to declare his Pleasure, as to his Enlargement, till the House of Lords had taken the Case into their Consideration. Upon which, after a long Debate, it was ordered, That the Records of the King's Bench Court should be brought into the House, and the Earl's Business proceeded upon the next Day; when the Lords declared, That it was a Breach of Privilege for any of their House to appeal to an inferior Court, during the Sitting of Parliament: That however, this should not be any Bar to any Plea the Earl should make. However, it seems that, some Time after, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* moved again by his Council in the King's Bench, for another *Habeas Corpus*; upon which his Lordship was brought thither, and the Business was agreed by Council on both Sides, and the Judges declared, that his Lordship being committed by a superior Court, *viz.* the House of Lords, of which his Lordship was a Member, they could not enquire into the Legality or Illegality of his Commitment, nor could they give him any Relief,

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Relief, and ſo remanded his Lordſhip back to the *Tower*. Upon this the Earl petitioned the Houſe of Lords, to know whether he ſhould be releaſed or not? To which the Lords told him, conſidering he had added a new Offence to that for which he was committed, much more heinous than the firſt, in applying himſelf to the King's Bench with a new *Habeas Corpus*, which was a farther Contempt of the Authority of the Houſe of Lords, they would not releaſe him. To which his Lordſhip anſwered, That the Crime for which he was committed, was the only Matter in Queſtion before them; and therefore, if they looked upon his Submiſſion as Satisfaction enough for the Fault he had committed, he might be allowed by the Houſe to make his Application to the King, for his Liberty; but, after a long Debate, it was carried in the Negative, That he ſhould not be allowed by the Houſe to make his Application to the King, and that they were reſolved not to releaſe him, till they had examined all his Faults together. Then the Lords reſolved to have the Earl once more before them, and having peruſed the Record of his ſecond *Habeas Corpus*, they agreed, that his applying again to an inferior Court, in the time of an Adjournment, which is a virtual Seſſion of Parliament, to be relieved againſt the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords, was a Breach of their Privileges, and reſolved, That he ſhould anſwer the Crime at the Bar of their Houſe, the next Day; but the other Crime, for which he was committed, ſeemed to be for-

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given.

given. In the End, the Earl finding his Petition to the Lords rejected there, for want of having behaved himself with due Submission and Obedience to the King, did then again petition his Majesty; but either uncarefully, or too capriciously insinuated in his Petition, that he did it by Order of the House of Lords, which the King took ill, and refused the Petition upon it. After this, the Lords were again upon this Business, and after many refined Questions, the whole Matter hung upon some Words which were alledged his Lordship should have said at the King's Bench Bar, upon his bringing his last *Habeas Corpus*, and that the Words then spoken by his Lordship were derogatory to the House of Lords, and to their Power: Whereupon Witnesses were called in and heard, who proved so little to the Earl's Disadvantage, that he was at length called for, to make his Submission to the House, which his Lordship did with all the Words and Ceremonies exacted of him, so much to the Satisfaction of the House, that they ordered an Address to be made to the King, to signify to his Majesty, that they (the House of Lords) were entirely satisfied, and that the whole Business of his Lordship's Enlargement, or farther Confinement, rested with his Majesty: Upon which his Lordship was that Night remanded to the *Tower*. The next Morning, the White Staves of the Lords House, in the Name of the whole House, made an Address to his Majesty, in the Case of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and the Lord Treasurer, the Morning

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follow-

following, made Report to the House, that his Majesty was satisfied, and that he would graciously please to order, that the said Earl should be delivered from the *Tower*, which was done accordingly; and the next Day the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had his Liberty, and took his Place in the House of Lords.

About this time I received a Letter from the King to the *Duc de Villa Hermosa*, brought me from *Windsor* by Mr. *Puckle*, who was then employed by the Merchants. That it being long since the Merchants first applied themselves to his Majesty for Redress in *Flanders*, and the King having long expected, from the Interposition of himself in that Affair, and the several Memorials given in his Name to the Ministers of *Spain*, from time to time residing, as also by his Minister at *Brussels*, that his Subjects would sooner have found the good Effects of their Instances; but especially being so seriously promised, upon the coming of their Deputies, with *Sieur Decio* their Fiscal, all Differences would be speedily adjusted: Yet, to his great Dissatisfaction he found, that several Months had been taken up by them in Conferences, and yet the Affair appeared so far from being ended, that it seemed to be industriously protracted: And his Subjects therefore freshly importuning him with reiterated Complaints of their Oppressions, and imploring that he would provide for their Satisfaction, by such Ways as were agreeable to his royal Dignity: His Majesty therefore calling to Mind with what Pa-

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tience he had waited for Reparation of their Damages, and having uſed all amicable Ways depending upon him, was now conſtrained to let his Excellency know, That if Juſtice were not ſpeedily adminiſtred to his Subjects, he ſhould be obliged by the Protection he owes them, to give them Leave to take their Satisfaction, by ſuch Ways as the Law of Nations, and his Treaty of 1667 with the King of *Spain* allowed. And therefore the King ſeriouſly deſired his Excellency to give effectual Orders to thoſe concerned, that what had been wrongfully done or taken from his Majeſty's Subjects, by the Privateers of *Oſtend*, might be adjudged and reſtored to them, or their Value; that thereby the Neceſſity of having Recourſe to ſeverer Remedies might be prevented, which his Majeſty promiſed himſelf from his Love to Juſtice, and his great Deſire to preſerve a good Friendſhip and Correſpondence betwixt the two Crowns. 'Tis true indeed we had better Orders from the Duke, than we had formerly from the Count *Monterrey*; but the Difference was, that the *Count de Monterrey* would always have his Orders punctually obeyed, and the Orders of the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa* were ſeldom complied with; ſo that his Majeſty's Subjects were very little the better for all the good Orders of the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa*.

Not long after this, I received a Letter from the King to the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa*, which being faithfully tranſlated, run thus.

Couſin,

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Cousin,

THE *Desire I have always had, and have, to do and perform all things on my Part, that may effectually conduce to the constant maintaining of a perfect Amity between me and my good Brother the Catholick King; and the Care which you have also used on your Part, to the same good Purpose, ever since you came to the Government of* Flanders, *made me believe, that my Subjects might have exercised their Commerce and Navigation, without any Hinderance or Interruption from those of his Catholick Majesty; and the rather, because you once sent the Sieur* Decio, *Fiscal of* Ostend, *hither into* England, *to adjust such Matters as were then in Difference, and to prevent the like for the future: Notwithstanding which, I am informed, that a Difficulty is raised concerning the Liberty of Trade to my Subjects, from one Port to another, of such Countries as are in Enmity with* Spain, *but in Peace and Amity with* England, *tho' there be not the least Ground or Shadow of any such Exception between me and his Catholick Majesty, nor is the like practised or pretended by any other Nation in Amity with me. Yet the Admiralty of* Ostend *refuseth to allow my Subjects that Liberty, upon a Pretence that the said Fiscal, when he was lately here, had given undeniable Arguments in that Behalf: But I am well informed, that, when the said Fiscal was here, and presented this Objection with some others against the Liberty of Trade, Sir* Leoline Jenkins, *Judge*

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of my Admiralty, and Sir Robert Southwell, *Knights, being appointed to examine the Fiscal's Papers, did make Answer thereto in Writing, in the Month of* July 1675, *and in particular to that very Point, touching the Right of Freedom in Trade from one Port to another; and that never any Answer or Reply being made thereunto, it was believed that the said Fiscal, and all those concerned in that Question, had finally acquiesced therein. A Copy of the Answer made by the said two Knights to the Fiscal's Objection, I have caused to be transmitted to my Resident at* Brussels, *and commanded him to impart the same unto you, not doubting but the Arguments therein contained will appear to you so strongly grounded upon Treaties and Reason, that I shall not need to press you for Justice in so clear a Case; but that that you will, of your own Accord and free Motion, adjust and finally determine this Point, according to the Rules set down in the aforesaid Treaty of* 1667, *between me and his Catholick Majesty, so as my Subjects may receive no further Interruption in the lawful Exercise of their Freedom in Trade and Navigation, which is the only Intent of this my Letter to you, with the Assurance whereof I remain,*

Cousin, Your Good Friend,

CHARLES *R.*

About this time Letters from the *Hague* told us, that the States General and their Confederates had accepted of *Nimmeguen* for the Place of

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of Treaty, at the Mediation and Recommendation of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, which was forthwith communicated to *Monsieur de Ravigni*, the *French* Ambassador, who told our King, that his most Christian Majesty would not send his Ambassadors, till the Emperor had agreed to some Accommodation upon the two preliminary Points, of Prince *William* of *Furstenberg*, and the Money belonging to the *French* King seized at *Cologne*. Hereupon our King sent to his Ambassador at the *Hague*, to press the States in that Matter, who answered, That they did not think fit to meddle in that Matter, but left it entirely to the Emperor's Pleasure, whose Minister at the *Hague* declared in the Name of the Emperor, That his Imperial Majesty was willing to suspend the Process against the Prince, and would agree, that in the Assembly at *Nimmeguen*, Consideration should be had of that Prince's Detention, and of seizing the Money at *Cologne*; but that the Prince being a natural born Subject of the Emperor, he could not admit to put him into a third Hand; upon which the King of *Great Britain* and the States were satisfied.

In the Year 1675, I had Notice given me by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, That the King was resolved I should follow the Camp, and had ordained an Allowance of 400 *L. Sterling* for my Equipage: That I should be careful to write all that passed in the Army, and leave some Person at *Brussels* to write all from thence, as fully as I used to do: That the Continuance of my Di-

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ligence and Exactneſs was the Way to have my Pains valued, which would at laſt bring a good Recompence with it.

In *Auguſt* 1677, I was adviſed by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, that *Mynheer van Benningham*, the *Dutch* Envoy, had told him, that, in Diſcourſe with *Count de Baſigni*, a Lieutenant General of the *Spaniſh* Troops, I had told him at *Bruſſels*, that the Prince of *Orange* had raiſed his Siege of *Charleroy* without fighting, to make himſelf King of his own Country, with many other things very prejudicial to the Honour and Truſt of the Prince; which being known to the King and Duke, they were much concerned at it: And that it would therefore become me preſently to apply my ſelf to Count *Baſigni*, to get a Certificate from him, that I had ſaid no ſuch thing to him. The ſame Story was alſo told me by Mr. *Laury Hyde*, who was newly arrived from the *Engliſh* Court. Upon theſe Informations, I went forthwith to Count *Baſigni*, and ſhewed him Mr. Secretary's Letter, which was wrote by Order from the King. Whereupon *Count de Baſigni* told me, I had always been eſteemed a *Frenchman*, and that I had a great Inclination for that Nation: That he had endeavoured to do me that Right, as to aſſure the contrary, by ſaying, I was unſatisfied at the Prince of *Orange*'s raiſing his Siege of *Charleroy* without fighting, which he had purpoſely done, to make himſelf King of *Holland* and the Low Countries. I then aſked him, whether he had ever heard me ſay any ſuch thing? He then con-

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confeſſed he never heard me ſay ſo, but that what he had ſaid was in my Juſtification, and that I was not the Man that others apprehended me to be: That I might make a good Excuſe to the Secretary, by ſaying, *Count de Baſigni* not being well, was gone to drink the *Spaw* Waters, and that at his Return I would get ſuch a Certificate from him as was required: That in the mean time the Buſineſs would be forgotten, and I ſhould hear no more of it. But I told him plainly, that ſince his Tongue had been too long, in ſpeaking that, as from me, which I never ſaid, whereby my Honour was in great Hazard, his Hand was not too ſhort to give me Satisfaction by his Pen; which if he refuſed, he muſt do it with his Sword, and that my Coach was at his Door, and that I would carry him out of the Ramparts, and the Buſineſs would quickly be decided. To which he anſwered, he would much more willingly give me Satisfaction with his Sword, than with his Pen, after he had heard Maſs at the *Dominicans*. Upon which I left him, and went to the *Dominicans*; ſoon after which, the Count came thither, and when the Maſs was ended, we went out together to my Coach, and putting him before me, as I was going in after him, *Don Antonio de Lera*, and *Don Martin de les Ries*, two *Spaniſh* Officers, ſtopp'd me, and ſaid we ſhould not go together, for that they knew there was a Quarrel betwixt us, and that they would ſecure and take *Count de Baſigni* Priſoner from me, and would forthwith give Notice

of

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of it to the Governour, Viſcount *Berling*: Whereupon I went into my Coach, and ſent immediately to Mr. *Lent*, who was Reſident for the King of *Denmark*. He came preſently to me, to whom I told all that happened: Whereupon he offered me his Service, and ſaid he would ſtand by me, and ſerve me in all I ſhould deſire of him. Soon after Viſcount *Berlin* came to me, to let me know, that he would endeavour to compoſe the Difference amicably between Count *Baſigni* and me, in the Abſence of the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa*, and that he had ſecured Count *Baſigni* in his own Houſe, but durſt not meddle with me, becauſe I was a publick Miniſter; but deſired I would not ſtir abroad, and that he hoped to compoſe the Difference friendly between us. I ſent forthwith to Mr. *Hyde*, to deſire him to take my Coach to *Bruin le Comte*, to ſee the Prince of *Orange*, and to make my Excuſe for not waiting upon his Highneſs, till I had freed my ſelf from the Imputation that was caſt upon me. I had not been long at Home, but *Count de Tanuti*, the Pope's Internuncio, accompanied with the Abbot of *Leyde*, came to ſee me, and offered their Service for accommodating the Buſineſs between us. The Internuncio told me, and ſo did the Abbot of *Leyde*, that they could not adviſe *Count de Baſigni* to give me ſuch a Certificate as I deſired, for that would be to give himſelf the Lye; but I told them, he muſt either do that, or fight with me, and that I had rather loſe my Life than my Honour.

In

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In the Afternoon of the ſame Day, Mr. *Lyſeca*, the *Spaniard*, who was Superintendant in the Place of *Don Pedro de Ronquillos*, came to ſee me: Amongſt other things, he told me, that perchance he might do me ſome Service, becauſe, by virtue of his Office, he could examine upon Oath, any Perſon that was Priſoner upon ſuch an Occaſion; and that if I would let him know what Queſtions he ſhould aſk him, he would not fail to do it; and that he would take a *Commis* with him, who ſhould put in Writing all that was ſaid, of which he would give me a Copy atteſted under his Hand and Seal. Upon this I told him, that he would pleaſe to examine Count *Baſigni*, how he came to be a Priſoner? and if there was a Quarrel betwixt us? and upon what Account? And that, whether he had heard me at any time, eſpecially ſince the Siege of *Charleroy*, ſpeak any thing againſt the Prince of *Orange*, that might reflect upon his Honour, or Truſt repoſed in him by the States General of the United Provinces? and that he, the Prince of *Orange*, did not fight then, becauſe he would make himſelf King of that Country? To which Count *Baſigni* anſwered upon Oath, That he never heard me ſpeak any thing tending to the Diſhonour of the Prince of *Orange*, or breaking of his Truſt to the States General; becauſe, if he had heard any ſuch thing, he would have queſtioned me for it. When Mr. *Lyſeca* gave me this Account the next Day, I told him, I ſhould be very well ſatisfied, if he would give me three Certificates ſigned by himſelf

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himself and his *Commis*, signifying what he had told me; the one should be for the King and the Duke, the second for the Prince of *Orange*, and the third to be left in the Stadt-House at *Brussels*, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, which was done accordingly, and all our Differences were amicably composed. The King my Master, with his Royal Highness, were entirely satisfied with my Proceeding and Conduct in this Business, as Mr. Secretary *Coventry* wrote me Word, and the Prince of *Orange* was fully satisfied, as Mr. *Hyde* informed me, and as I understood afterwards from the Prince himself. But this Affair stuck upon *Count de Basigni*, as an ill Mark upon him, who lived not many Years after it.

In *March* 1677, the House of Commons resolved, that those Persons who either advised, compelled, assisted, or encouraged the raising, levying, or sending his Majesty's Subjects into the military Service of the *French* King, since the King's Proclamation to the contrary, are, and shall be esteemed Enemies to the Safety of the Kingdom. Then they agreed to present an Address to his Majesty in these Words following.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most loyal Subjects, the Commons assembled in Parliament, do with unspeakable Joy and Comfort, present our humble Thanks to Your Majesty, for Your most gracious Acceptance of our Address; and that You

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You have been pleased to express, in your princely Wisdom, Your Concurrence in Opinion to the Preservation of the Spanish Netherlands: *We do with all earnest and repeated Desires implore Your Majesty, that You would be pleased to take Care to prevent those Dangers that may arise to these Kingdoms by the present Power of the* French *King, and the Progress he daily makes in the* Netherlands, *and many other Places; and therefore that Your Majesty would not defer the entring into such Alliances as may attain those Ends. And in Case it shall happen, in pursuance of such Alliances, that Your Majesty shall be engaged in a War with the* French *King, we hold our selves obliged, and we do with all Humility and Chearfulness assure Your Majesty, that we Your Majesty's most loyal Subjects shall always be ready, upon Signification in Parliament, fully from time to time to assist Your Majesty with such Aids and Supplies, &c. by the Divine Assistance, may enable Your Majesty to prosecute the same with Success. All which we humbly offer to Your Majesty, as the unanimous Sense and Desire of the whole Nation.*

To this the King returned no Answer, and therefore this farther Address was also made by both Houses of Parliament.

May it please Your Majesty,

WE *Your most loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled,*

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find our ſelves obliged, in Duty and Faithfulneſs to Your Majeſty, and in Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in us by thoſe whom we repreſent, moſt humbly to offer to Your Majeſty's ſerious Conſideration, that the Minds of Your Majeſty's People are much diſquieted with the manifeſt Dangers ariſing to Your Majeſty's Kingdoms, by the Growth and Power of the French *King, eſpecially by the Acquiſitions already, and the farther Progreſs likely to be made by him in the* Spaniſh Netherlands; *in the Preſervation and Security whereof we humbly conceive the Intereſt of Your Majeſty, and the Safety of Your People, are ſingly concerned: And therefore we moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to take the ſame into Your Royal Conſideration, and to ſtrengthen Your ſelf with ſuch ſtricter Alliances as may ſecure Your Majeſty, and preſerve and ſecure the ſaid* Netherlands, *and thereby quiet the Minds of Your Majeſty's People.*

The King's Anſwer to this Addreſs was to this Effect. That his Majeſty was of Opinion, that the Conſervation of *Flanders* was of great Importance to *England:* That he would uſe all Means in his Power for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, as could conſiſt with the Safety of the Kingdom. And the 11th of *April* 1677, his Majeſty ſent this Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons.

HIS

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HIS Majesty having considered your late Address, and finding some Alterations in Affairs abroad, thinks it necessary to put you in Mind, that the only Way to prevent the Dangers that may arise to these Kingdoms, must be by putting his Majesty timely in a Condition to make such fitting Preparations as may enable him to do what shall be most for the Security of them.

The 12th of *April* 1677, Resolved in the House of Commons,

THAT the Thanks of this House be given to his Majesty, for laying before them his Majesty's Sense of the Posture of Affairs abroad, and to let his Majesty know, that in order to his Majesty's Preparations in pursuance of their Address, for the Safety of the Kingdom, they had provided a Security of 200000 l. *and that whatsoever of the same shall be expended accordingly, shall be by them reimbursed; and whensoever the Posture of his Majesty's Affairs shall require their Attendance in Parliament, they would be ready to aid and assist him, as the Nature of his Majesty's Affairs should require.*

The 16th of this Month, his Majesty sent for the House of Commons, and told them, that the Two Hundred Thousand Pounds they had given him Credit for, was not sufficient for making the necessary Preparations; and therefore demanded Six Hundred Thousand Pounds more;

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more; but the Houſe deſired his Majeſty, he would give them Leave to defer that Matter, till they came together again, for that their Houſe was at preſent very empty; and the 22d of *May* 1677, his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, to attend him preſently in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, where he made a Speech to them, and they being returned, went into a grand Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of his Majeſty's Speech, and reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to the King, and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Addreſs, with Reaſons why they could not comply with his Majeſty's Speech, till ſuch Alliances as they deſired were entered into; and farther ſhewing the Neceſſity of ſuch ſpeedy Alliances; and that when ſuch Alliances were made, to give his Majeſty Aſſurances of ſpeedy and chearful Supplies, for ſupporting and maintaining ſuch Alliances. After this, the King ſent again for the Houſe of Commons to the *Banqueting-Houſe*, and made this following Speech to them.

Gentlemen,

I Have ſent for you hither, to prevent the Miſtakes which I find ſome are ready to make, as if I had called you together only to get Money from you, for other Ends than you would have it employed. I do aſſure you, upon the Word of a King, that you ſhall never repent any Truſt repoſed in Me, for the Safety of My Kingdoms, and deſire you to believe, that I would not

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not break my Credit with you: But as I have already told you, that it will be impoſſible for me to ſpeak or act thoſe things which ſhould anſwer the Ends of your ſeveral Addreſſes, without expoſing my Kingdoms to much greater Dangers; ſo I declare to you, that I will not hazard my own Safety, nor yours, till I am in better Condition than I am able to put my ſelf, both to defend my Subjects, and to offend my Enemies. And I do farther aſſure you, that I have not loſt one Day, ſince your laſt Meeting, in doing all I can for our Defence: And I tell you plainly, it ſhall be your Fault, and not mine, if our Securities be not provided for.

May the 21ſt, the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons was read and agreed to, and the Privy-Counſellours of the Houſe were ordered to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure when the Houſe ſhould wait upon him with it. The 26th of *May* they attended the King in the *Banqueting-Houſe* with their Addreſs. The King told them, it was of great Weight, that he would take it into Conſideration, and return them an Anſwer. The 28th of *May* he ſent for the Houſe of Commons into the *Banqueting-Houſe* at *Whitehall*, and gave them this following Anſwer. That he could by no means approve of their laſt Addreſs, for that it contained many things unfit for them to meddle with, and which intrenched upon the undoubted Right of the Crown, whoſe Prerogative it was to make Peace, and declare War: That his Majeſty would never ſuffer to

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be leſſened ſo eſſential a Part of the Monarchy; But withal his Majeſty declared, that as he had done all that lay in his Power, ſo he would continue to apply himſelf by all the Means he could, to let the World ſee his Care both for the Security and Satisfaction of his People, tho' it might not be with thoſe Advantages to them, which by their Aſſiſtance he might have procured.

But I muſt not forget to tell, that in this Year 1677, the Houſe of Commons agreed upon an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to return him their humble Thanks for expreſſing his great Care of the Proteſtant Religion, in marrying his Niece to a Proteſtant Prince, and did humbly beſeech his Majeſty to admit of no Treaty of Peace, but ſuch a one as leaves the *French* King in no better State or Condition to offend his Neighbours, than he is left by the Treaty of the *Pyrrheneans*.

In *April* 1678, the two Houſes of Parliament met, and the King being in his Robes in the Lords Houſe, ſent for the Houſe of Commons to confirm their new Speaker, Sir *Robert Sawyer*; after which the Lord Chief Juſtice *North* (the Lord Chancellor being indiſpoſed) acquainted the two Houſes, That his Majeſty hoped he ſhould have been able at their Meeting to have told ſomething to their full Satisfaction, but that things were not yet in that Condition, by reaſon the *Dutch* Ambaſſador was not fully authorized to treat an Alliance, which might comprehend all the Allies, and particularly to engage,

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gage, that the States General ſhould, in like manner as is done in *England*, prohibite all Trade with *France*; and therefore his Majeſty had thought fit, that they ſhould adjourn for ſome ſhort time longer, when his Majeſty hoped he ſhould be able to tell them the Certainty of things, upon which they might take the Reſolutions that were fit: Upon which both Houſes of Parliament adjourned themſelves.

About this time I received a Letter from Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, in theſe Words.

Dear Sir,

WE hear nothing yet of the great Buſineſs of our Eaſt India *Company ſo long ſince promiſed, which is not yet ended, nor like to be; the Commiſſioners can come to no Agreement in their Differences, each Company being obſtinate in their Demands. All that is like to be done is this, to leave Matters in the ſame State they were before the Negotiation, and a Rule is made for the amicable Deciſion of all Complaints, which is this that follows. If Juſtice be not done, or Satisfaction given to the Parties by the King of* Great Britain, *or the* States General, *reſpectively, in Three Months, then within Three Months after, Four Commiſſioners ſhall be named on each Side, who ſhall be obliged to determine it in Three Months following their Aſſembly; and if they do not, they ſhall name an Arbitrator, to decide within Six Months: And if he do not, and the Commiſſioners cannot agree upon ſuch an Arbitrator, then the Cauſe to devolve*

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upon

upon the King of Great Britain *and the* States, *to decide; and this to be the Method. Upon each Complaint, the Commissioners in the first Case to meet at* London, *and in the second at the* Hague, *and so alternatively; and an Act is passed between the King and the* States, *That the 9th Article of the Treaty at* London, *which relates to this Matter of the* East Indies, *and the Treaty Marine, be executed, and no farther Proceedings to be had upon it: Upon which the Deputies of the* East India *Company are parted, as likewise the Commissioners for* Surinam, *the States of* Zealand *having some Weeks past sent their Orders directly to* Surinam, *for executing that Part of the Treaty, and bringing off the* English *from thence.*

Soon after this, I received a Letter from the Earl of *Sunderland*, in these Words following.

SIR,

HIS Majesty having been pleased to make Choice of me for one of his principal Secretaries of State, in Place of Sir Joseph Williamson, *I hold my self obliged to give you this Notice, assuring you at the same time, that I shall be very glad of any Occasion that I may lay hold upon, during my Function, that may offer for your Service, as being, Sir,*

Your most Humble Servant,
SUNDERLAND.

This

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This was in the Year 1678 that Sir *Joseph Williamson* resigned, and the Earl of *Sunderland* came in his Place.

The 22d of *April* 1678, all People were impatiently expecting what Resolution would be taken in *Holland* upon the Proposals of the *French* Ambassadors, which it seems the States were inclined to accept, at a Time when his Majesty was so vigorously preparing for the War, and was so near engaging in it, that it was believed, by the latter End of the next Month, his Royal Highness would be in *Flanders* with the whole Army, if no extraordinary Accident hinder'd it.

But on the 6th of *May* 1678, after a long Debate, the Commons came to this Resolution: First, to disapprove of the offensive Treaty with *Holland*, as not consisting with the Safety of the Kingdom: Secondly, that his Majesty will please to enter into an Alliance with the Emperor, *Spain*, (and the States General, if they will come into it, if not, to proceed without them) and other the Confederates for lessening the Power of *France*. This Address was drawn and presented that Night, and the next Day, which was the 7th Instant, his Majesty returned this following Answer.

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having been acquainted with the Votes of the House of Commons, was very much surprized both with the Matter and Form of them: But if his Majesty had had

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Exception to neither, yet his Majesty having asked the Advice of his two Houses of Parliament, does not think fit to give an Answer to any thing of that Nature, till he hath a concurrent Advice from both Houses. Given at the Court at Whitehall, *the 6th of* May 1678.

The 14th of *May* his Majesty sent a Message to the House of Commons, to let them know, that unless they did farther supply his Majesty, he should be forced to disband all his Forces, and to cease his Preparations for Sea; and in the Afternoon of that Day, the House of Commons presented their Address, to which the King was pleased to answer the next Day, That their Address was so extravagant, that his Majesty did not think fit to give it the Answer it deserved, and the next Day the King prorogued the Parliament to the 23d of *May* 1678. The 31st of *May* the House of Commons ordered the Members of the Privy Council, to pray his Majesty, that if he will please to enter into a War against the *French* King, they would support him in it; if otherwise, they would proceed to provide for paying and disbanding the Army: To which his Majesty was pleased the next Day to answer, That the *French* King had consented to a Cessation to the 27th of *July*, which his Majesty believed would be followed by a general Peace; but that the King thought it necessary to keep up his Army till that time, and therefore called upon them forthwith to provide a Subsistence for them; Whereupon the

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House resolved, that all the Forces raised since the 29th of *September* last, be forthwith paid and disbanded, except those Forces that were sent to the Plantations; and they resolved, That a Supply be granted to his Majesty, towards the paying and disbanding the Forces that have been raised since the said 29th of *September*.

In *November* 1678 several Persons were apprehended for High Treason, and were examined before the Lords of the Privy Council, and committed to *Newgate*, in order to their Tryal; and all that were, or suspected to be *Roman* Catholicks, were seized upon, and the House of Commons passed this following Vote, That, upon the Evidence that had already appeared to them, there is, and hath been, a damnable hellish Plot contrived and carried on by the Popish Recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, and for subverting the Government, and destroying the Protestant Religion by Law established; and ordered, that this Vote be communicated to the Lords at a Conference, and that the Lords be then desired to join with the House of Commons, in providing Remedies for the Safety of his Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and Protestant Religion by Law established. His Majesty was then pleased to issue out his Proclamation, requiring all Popish Recusants not to go five Miles from the Places of their Abode, and command all of them to quit the City of *London*, without Exception of any Person, but only foreign Ministers; and his Majesty

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ſent an Anſwer in Writing by one of his principal Secretaries to the Addreſs for tendering the Oaths to all Perſons reſiding in *Whitehall*, *St. James's*, and *Somerſet-Houſe*, except the menial Servants of the Queen and Dutcheſs, who are excepted by Articles of Marriage.

Upon the 4th of *Auguſt* 1679, the King was taken at *Windſor* with an Indiſpoſition ſomething like an Ague, occaſioned by a Cold, which made him very heavy, and took away his Stomach: The News thereof being brought to the Duke at *Bruſſels*, his Royal Highneſs ſent for me at Ten at Night, and then he acquainted me with his Intention of going early the next Morning for *England*, and commanded me to make his Excuſe to the *Duc de Villa Hermoſa*, for not taking Leave of his Excellency, his going being ſo ſudden, private, and unexpected. The 5th of *September* following I had Letters from *England*, that the Duke of *York* was ſafely arrived at *Windſor*, and was moſt kindly received by the King and all the Court: That many Perſons flocked thither to ſee the Duke, and kiſs his Hands; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were reſolved to come in a Body, to pay their Reſpects to his Royal Highneſs.

About this time Mr. Secretary *Coventry* wrote me Word, That he had received an Expreſs from *Spain*, which he had long expected: That he did believe that Court would not be ſo quick in declaring a Rupture, as ſome of their Miniſters in *England* had been, in both threatning and

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and adviſing it: That I might aſſure the *Count de Fuentes*, that our Maſter was never wanting in the courteous receiving any publick Miniſter, much leſs one of his Character, and ſent from ſo great a King, whilſt they performed their Reſpects to him: But when thoſe that are ſent to him make their Addreſſes elſewhere, and in a Faſhion derogatory to his Government, he will let them and the World know, that *England* is a Monarchy, and he the Monarch; and that no Addreſſes in his Kingdom muſt be made but to him, or by his Approbation: That his Majeſty had had from ſeveral Hands a very good Character of the Count and his Temper, and hoped when he came, he would bring Orders proportionable to ſuch a Temper: That the King and Duke had declared their Conſent to the Marriage of the Lady *Mary* with the Prince of *Orange*, which employed the Jollity of the Town that Night, which was all at preſent from, *&c.*

Sir *George Wakeman* was about this time tryed for High Treaſon: *Oates*, *Bedlow*, *Dugdale*, and *Prance* were Witneſſes againſt him. *Oates* depoſed, That Sir *George Wakeman* had, to his Knowledge, accepted of Fifteen Thouſand Pounds, to poyſon the King, and had received Five Thouſand Pounds of it. *Bedlow* depoſed, That meeting Sir *George Wakeman* at *Harcourt*'s Chamber, he had acquainted him with his Deſign of poyſoning the King: But Sir *Philip Lloyd*, Clerk of the Privy Council, depoſed, That *Oates* before the Council being

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aſked, upon the firſt Diſcovery of the Plot, whether he could ſay any thing of his own Knowledge, of Sir *George Wakeman*, he anſwered, God forbid, for he knew nothing of his own Knowledge, but he had heard Sir *George Wakeman* was to poyſon the King. To this *Oates* anſwered, That at the Council he was much diſturbed, and his Memory was by that diſordered. And *Bedlow* being aſked by the Jury, whether he had ſeen Sir *George Wakeman* before he met him at *Harcourt*'s Chamber, he anſwered, No: Whereupon the Jury reflected, that Sir *George Wakeman* muſt needs be very indiſcreet to intruſt him with ſo great a Secret; and ſo Sir *George Wakeman*, with three other Priſoners, *Marſhal*, *Corker*, and a Lay-Brother, were all abſolved after one Hour's Conſultation. *Dugdale* and *Prance* being the other Witneſſes, ſpake only as to the Plot in general; ſo that Sir *George Wakeman* was acquitted upon very good Reaſon, the Tryal having laſted from Eight in the Morning till Six at Night: But the common People would have all Papiſts hanged without more ado, and were much enraged againſt both Jury and Judges, and ſwore they were all turned Papiſts.

On the 10th of *July* 1679, the Privy Council ordered a Proclamation ſhould be drawn up for a new Parliament to meet the 7th of *October*; but the King ordered in Council at *Hampton Court*, that the Parliament ſhould not meet till the 17th of *October*, the King intending to go to *Newmarket* ſome time in that Month, and would

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would after return to attend the Buſineſs in Parliament without Intermiſſion; but this Parliament was afterwards prorogued from the 17th of *October* to the 15th of *April*. In the mean time there came out every Day ſuch Swarms of impudent licentious Libels upon all Sorts of Perſons, and upon all Subjects, printed, as the like was never known, and will be ſtill continued whilſt the *Habeas Corpus* is ſtill in Force, and that they are ſure to be bailed.

The King having written to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, to let them know how much he was diſpleaſed with the undutiful Carriage of the Duke of *Monmouth*, they did preſently chuſe a new Chancellor. On the 21ſt of *April* 1679, the King being in his Robes in the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons attending with their Speaker, his Majeſty made this following Speech to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thought it neceſſary to acquaint you what I have done this Day, which is, that I have eſtabliſhed a new Privy-Council, the conſtant Number of which ſhall not exceed Thirty. I have made Choice of ſuch Perſons as are worthy and able to adviſe me: And I am reſolved in all my weighty and important Affairs (next to the Advice of my great Council in Parliament, with which I ſhall very often conſult) to be adviſed by this Council. I would not make ſo great a Change without acquainting both Houſes of Parliament: And I deſire you will all apply your ſelves heartily

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heartily (as I shall do) to those things that are necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom, and that no Time may be lost in it. The constant Number of the Council is to be Thirty, amongst which the Princes of the Blood, the President and Secretary of Scotland, *are not reckoned; because it may happen there may be none of the first nor second, and the* Scotch *Secretary will not be constantly there.*

His Majesty then told both Houses, that he would hold no more Cabinet Councils: A Declaration from the King is expected upon this Change, which it is believed was hatched at a Meeting of the Privy Council the Night before, which was so private, that the Clerks of the Council attending were ordered to withdraw, which is not usual; and this Change did not meet with that general Approbation of the House of Commons, as a Condescension of that Nature seemed to challenge, as we may perceive by deferring the Consideration of giving his Majesty Thanks for his Speech, which in good Manners they ought to have done immediately.

The Day before the King declared this great Change of his Council, the House of Commons came to this Resolution, That it was their Opinion, that the Duke of *York* being a Papist, and the Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, had given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the present Conspiracy of the Papists against his Majesty and the Protestant Religion; and this Resolution was sent up to the Lords,

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Lords, for their Concurrence, by the Lord *Ruſſel*. The Houſe of Commons made likewiſe an Addreſs to his Majeſty in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, That *Pickering* and the other Popiſh Prieſts condemned might be ſpeedily executed. To which his Majeſty anſwered, That he was very tender of Blood, but would ſend them an Anſwer to their Addreſs very ſpeedily. The Commons then voted, That a Bill ſhould be brought in, for diſabling the Duke of *York* to inherit the imperial Crown of *England*, and that they would ſtand by the King with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if the King (which God forbid) ſhould be taken away by any ſudden Accident, they would revenge him to the utmoſt upon all the Papiſts in *England*. The Tryal of the Lords in the *Tower* was deferred for ſome time, and a Committee of both Houſes met to adjuſt the Preliminaries. The Lords have at laſt come to Reſolution, that the Lords Spiritual have a right to ſtay in Court in all capital Cauſes, till ſuch time as Judgment of Death comes to be pronounced, which they have declared and explained to be, till the Houſe proceeds to the Votes of Guilty, or Not Guilty. The Commons were not at all contented with this Declaration of the Lords, nor with their Lordſhips having appointed the Tryal of the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, before the Earl of *Danby* came to his Tryal.

The 9th of *July* 1679, the Council ordered a Proclamation ſhould be drawn up for a new Parliament; but his Majeſty finding that the two

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two Houſes could not agree about the Tryal of the Lords, and that they grew to exceſſive Heats, was pleaſed to prorogue them till the 24th of *Auguſt*, and the next Day he ſent for the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to the Council, and gave them Orders to appeaſe all groundleſs Jealouſies which ſome Men endeavoured to raiſe in People's Minds; and the Juſtices of the Peace in *Middleſex* had the like Orders given them in Council, and to proceed to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts: And the Lord Chancellor acquainted the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, that the King commanded them to put the Laws exactly in Execution againſt Papiſts: And becauſe ſome might pretend to be in Town as Witneſſes for the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, and others might preſume, upon the Proroguing of the Parliament, to appear, which before they durſt not do, his Majeſty commanded to double their Diligence for finding out all Papiſts, and proceeding to a ſpeedy Conviction of them, his Majeſty being reſolved, that they ſhould be proceeded againſt with greater Severity than if the Parliament were ſitting, the King being abſolutely reſolved to clear the City of Papiſts: And, a farther Mark of the King's Zeal in theſe Proceedings was, that he commanded the ſeveral Prieſts who had been condemned ſhould be executed forthwith according to the Sentence paſſed upon them. So much did his Majeſty's Proceedings differ now from the Opinion he had at *Cologne*, which was never to put the Penal Laws in Execution.

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It ſeems the Lords and Commons could not come to any Agreement about the Tryals of the Lords in the *Tower*. The Commons reſolved to have the Earl of *Danby* come firſt, and to exclude the Biſhops from ſitting in the Court; ſo that the King was neceſſitated to a Prorogation, to abate their Heats; and there was an Expedient intended to be propoſed in the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe, which was, That he ſhould be perpetually baniſhed and degraded, to ſee how that would take: But the Earl's Conſent being aſked to the Propoſition, he poſitively refuſed it, and ſaid he would ſtand or fall by his Pardon, and nothing elſe.

The Heats which appeared upon proroguing the Parliament in *June* 1679, were much abated, and People's Thoughts ſomewhat quieted by what the King had pleaſed to do; ſince firſt, by giving ſtrict Orders to the Lord Mayor and Juſtices of the Peace of *Weſtminſter*, to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts, and directing Mr. Attorney General to bring thoſe that were Priſoners for the Plot to a ſpeedy Tryal; in commanding the Execution of the condemned Prieſts, and in ordering an Account to be made in every County, of thoſe Perſons that are fitting to be Juſtices of Peace, and in declaring the Duke of *York* ſhould not return during the Prorogation.

There was a warm Report about this time, that the Earl of *Shaftſbury* was to leave the Council, and the Lord *Roberts* to be made Lord Preſident in his Place. The Occaſion of this

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Report was, that the Lord *Roberts* was a great Assertor of the Rights of the Lords and the Bishops, when the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was of a contrary Opinion. It seems the House of Commons continued very eager upon the Search of such Persons as had in the last Parliament received any Money, which was put upon the Account of secret Service; and having gotten a List of many Names, they examined Sir *Stephen Fox*, the Pay-Master General, if he had not payed Money to such as they named. He confessed, that he had payed several Sums, and named the Persons to whom he had payed Money for secret Service; but the Commons being not content with his verbal Confession, they would see his Books of Accompts, and sent a Committee of the House to *Whitehall*, to fetch the Books; but the Lord Chamberlain told the Committee, that, by virtue of his Office, he could not suffer any Search to be made in the King's House, without his Majesty's Leave; and so the Committee went away without them, but Mr. *Bertie* was kept in Custody for not delivering his Books of the Treasury.

In *August* 1679, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* landed at *Greenwich*, and went directly to *Windsor* to kiss the King's Hands, and was very well received of his Majesty. The Duke's Arrival at *Windsor* from *Brussels* incognito, was a great Surprize to them. His Royal Highness was most kindly received by the King; but it was not determined whether he should continue in *England*, or return to *Brussels*. Great Numbers of

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of People of all Qualities did daily come to Court to kiſs the Duke's Hands, which makes the World believe his Preſence is very acceptable. About this time the Duke of *Monmouth* laid down his Commiſſion of being General, and was by his Majeſty's Command to leave *England* in few Days; and the Duke of *York* is likewiſe to return to *Bruſſels*. He is at preſent lodged in *Whitehall*, and will go with his Majeſty to *New-market*, to which Place he is reſolved to go, tho' his Phyſicians adviſe the contrary. It is ſaid the Duke of *Monmouth* is often in Diſcourſe with the King, not having a Mind to leave *England*, and is paſſing his Pardon under the Great Seal, before he goes, the King being reſolved upon his going. When the King and Queen go to *New-market*, the Duke of *York* returns towards *Bruſſels*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* goes for *Holland*, intending to reſide at *Utrecht*, Prince *Rupert* having lent him his Houſe at *Rhenen*. The Dutcheſs does not accompany the Duke, the King having diſſwaded her from it.

I was about this time informed from *Whitehall*, that the 17th of *October* drawing on, when the Parliament was to meet, I ſhould have News from thence, but they could not promiſe me it ſhould be good at the ſame time; and from the ſame Hand I was told, that the Lord Chief Juſtice being in his Circuit, and giving his Charge to the Grand Jury, amongſt other things, recommended unto them the ſtrict executing the Laws againſt Papiſts: Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham*

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(who was in the Court upon the Bench) ſtood up and ſaid, *It was well indeed if that were done; but that the Lord Chief Juſtice, when he gave that Charge, did not mean it ſhould be obſerved, becauſe he was a Favourer of the Papiſts, and that he* (the Duke) *knew he had private Orders to aſſiſt and favour the Papiſts all he could:* Which laſt is a Reflection upon the King puniſhable by the Law, which declares it Treaſon to ſay the King is a Papiſt. It is added to me in my Letter, from a very good Hand, that the Duke did hereupon abſcond, and that the Chief Juſtice, before he gave out his Warrant, complained to the King, and had the King's Directions in it, and I have been ſince told, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was gone privately into *Holland*, and was there ſeen by them that well knew his Grace.

The Parliament was prorogued this Day for Fourteen Days longer, his Majeſty having declared to the Council, that he was deſirous to ſpend ſome more Days at *New-market*, finding that Air very agreeable to him; and that after his Return he had ſeveral Matters to prepare for the Parliament, which he thought would not be unpleaſing to them, which would not be ready againſt the Time it was at firſt intended they ſhould be. The Yacht that carried his Royal Highneſs to *Bruſſels* did bring back the Lady *Anne* and the Lady *Iſabella* to *London*, with the Dutcheſs of *York*.

On the 10th of *October* Mr. Secretary *Coventry* communicated a Letter to thoſe in his Office,

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fice, which he had then received from *Newmarket* by the King's Command, that the Duke of *York*, before his Return to *Bruſſels*, had deſired he might live in the Dominions of his Majeſty, rather than in thoſe of any other Prince; and having aſked the King's Leave to go to *Scotland*, the King had granted it, and accordingly had ordered two Frigates to be ready in the *Downes* to tranſport his Royal Highneſs, and the Duke of *Lauderdale* was diſpatched to *Scotland*, to make Preparations for his Royal Highneſs's Reception, which was hindered for ſome time by the unlucky Accident which happened at Sea. However, the 12th of *October*, both their Royal Highneſſes arrived at Court, and were very well received by all that End of the Town, but I know not whether I can ſay ſo much for the other: Their Stay will be ſhort, being deſigned for *Scotland*, where, by his Majeſty's Leave, they intend to reſide.

The 17th of *October* 1679, the Parliament met, and were prorogued to the 28th of *January*; and at the ſame time, one of the principal Secretaries of State, by his Letter to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, let his Lordſhip know, by the King's Command, that his Majeſty intended to make no more Uſe of his Lordſhip at the Council Table; and not only excuſed his Lordſhip for attending as Preſident of the Council, but diſcharged him from his farther Attendance there; and the 24th of the ſame Month his Majeſty ordered the Earl of *Radnor* to take the Place of Lord Preſident of the Council

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Table, in the Place of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which the Earl of *Radnor* did accordingly. Mr. *Oates*'s Complaint againſt Sir *Philip Lloyd*, one of the Clerks of the Council, was heard, and it being proved that Sir *Philip* had, in a Coffee-houſe, ſpoken ſome Words, as if he did not believe the Plot, and beſides, ſpoke indiſcreetly at the Tryal of Sir *George Wakeman*; the King, as a Mark of his Diſpleaſure, ſuſpended him the Execution of his Place. Then the Matter againſt Sir *Thomas Williams* the Chymiſt was heard; and it appearing that, of his own Head, he had gone with pretended Meſſages between the Duke and Mr. *Oates*, which he then denied, as well as ſome Words which were proved he had ſaid to Mr. *Oates*, viz. *That he knew enough to ruine the Duke and all his Party*, he was, by Order of the Council, committed to the *Gate-Houſe*. It ſeems Mr. *Oates* was at *Oxford*, and would have had the ſame Degree of Doctor as he pretended to have had at *Salamanca*, but they refuſed him.

We are told, their Royal Higneſſes, in their Paſſage for *Scotland*, ſtayed ſome Days at *York* to reſt themſelves before they went into *Scotland*, and that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen did not ſhew that Reſpect to them which they expected; of which the King being informed, and that their Behaviour differed much from what it did before, at the Duke's former Paſſage there, his Majeſty was thereupon much diſpleaſed, the which he ſignified to the Lord Mayor and

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and Aldermen of that City, letting them know, that his Majesty expects, whenever the Duke passes that Way again, that they treat him in the same Manner as they did formerly, and that they shew him that Respect which becomes all good Subjects to shew to the King's Brother. The *Scots* seem greatly pleased at the Duke's Coming, and that they shall have a Court kept amongst them,

November the 3d, 1679, I am told, they are again at *London* launched into the Business of the Plot, one *Dangerfield* having been several Days before the Council in Examination; but People are not very hasty to give Credit to his Relation, who hath been once, if not oftener, in the Pillory, and is now in *Newgate*. A Proclamation is in the Press, and will suddenly issue out, for giving Notice, that whoever knows any thing of the Plot, and does not discover it before the End of next *February*, he is to expect the Penalty of the Law for Misprision of Treason, and is not to have any Benefit of Pardon. About this time there was another new Discoverer of the Plot upon the King's Life come in: He was a Servant to Sir *Thomas Gascoign*, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman of a great Estate, and great Age. However, he is sent for to *Whitehall* by a Messenger. These several Discoverers, will, I hope, let us see the Bottom, or at least the End once of this Matter. I am informed from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, of a warm Report spread abroad, that the Earl of *Essex*, First Commissioner of the Treasury,

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and

and his Brother Sir *Henry Capel*, First Commissioner of the Admiralty, are both withdrawing themselves from the Court and Council, tho' there be no Reason yet known for it, the King not having shewed any Disfavour to either of them. The Humour is much changed, when such Men quit their Places without any visible Reasons; and therefore we may well think the King will be as willing to accept, as they are to resign.

I had Letters from *Whitehall* of the 20th of *November*, which said, the Duke of *Monmouth* came to Town unlook'd for; that so soon as his Coming was known, the People made Bonfires, shot off Guns, and rung their Bells. He offered to see the King, but his Majesty not only refused him, because he returned without his Orders, but forbad him the Court, and ordered him to return within Twenty Four Hours, when Preparations were making of new Bonfires, which were suppressed; and yet the Duke continued still in Town, the 8th of *December*, but stript of all Employments, and no great Talk of him.

An Address hath been made to the King by Eight Lords, for the Meeting of the Parliament at the Time appointed, and the same has been done by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the King in Council, where, after the Lord Chancellor had done, the King spoke himself, and told the Lord Mayor and Aldermen with great Earnestness, That he could not endure any longer those factious Doings, and expected the City of *London* should be an Example to

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the whole Kingdom, *&c.* A Proclamation was then ordered to be printed and publiſhed, to forewarn all People from ſigning ſuch Petitions, ſhewing the Danger they will run themſelves into by ſo doing.

The 15th of *October* 1679, the Juſtices of *Middleſex* and *Weſtminſter* were called before the Privy Council, and were ſtrictly charged to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Papiſts, and that they ſhould meet and conſult of ſuch Expedients as they ſhould think moſt effectual, and return the ſame to the Board; and a Committee of the Council were appointed Commiſſioners to receive and conſider of ſuch Propoſitions, and to propoſe ſuch other Expedients as ſhould occur to them. Hereupon the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex* and *Weſtminſter* did make their Report to the Council, of the ſeveral Expedients which they had agreed to amongſt themſelves, for the better executing the Laws againſt Papiſts, which the Privy Council approved of. It ſeems, notwithſtanding the Proclamation, ſome ſeditious People would fain bring on the Petitions, as well about the Court, as in *Eſſex*; and tho' they are not conſiderable enough to bring the Matter to any Head, yet it may give Encouragement to others, if it be not puniſhed: And upon Information of this, the Privy Council have ſent for Three or Four of the principal Perſons ingaged herein, and the great Expectation is, to ſee how they will proceed againſt them: And it is ſuſpected, that the City of *London*, with ſome of the Coun-

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ties adjoining, have not quite laid aſide their Deſign of Petitioning his Majeſty for a Parliament, notwithſtanding there is ſmall Appearance it will be to any Effect. In the mean time, the Privy Council have taken ſeveral Reſolutions concerning the vigorous Proſecution of the Papiſts, which will be executed without any Connivance or Partiality, and the particular Method that will be taken, is ſet down in a Proclamation that is now in the Preſs for that Purpoſe. We are told from *Scotland*, that the Duke has taken his Place in the Privy Conncil of *Scotland*, and as Firſt Prince of the Blood, was diſpenſed with as to taking the Oaths, which is likewiſe the Practice in *England:* For, at the forming the preſent Privy Council, all the Lords were ſworn, except Prince *Rupert*, who being a Prince of the Blood, he was not ſworn.

In *June* 1680, I received this enſuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

I Am infinitely obliged to you for your conſtant Correſpondence. Laſt Night, a Defenſive Alliance between his Majeſty and the King of Spain *was ſigned: It is the ſame in Effect with that made in* 1673, *between* Spain *and* Holland, *and that in* 1678 *between his Majeſty and* Holland. *It is his Majeſty's Inſtruction to all his Miniſters abroad, not to make any Flouriſh or Noiſe on our Part of this League, but only to own and avow (upon all Occaſions that ſhall be given by the Enquiries of other Men) that there is*

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is such a League newly made; that it is such a one that can give no Offence or Umbrage to any Neighbour Prince, it being purely defensive, and inducing no Obligation, but that the two Kings defend each other in their present Peace and Possessions, against any that shall aggress or invade them. I am, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,
L. JENKINS.

Some time after this, the Earl of *Danby* petitioned the King and House of Lords, that he might be tryed; but nothing being done in it, his Lordship petitioned farther, that he might be bailed, and his Case was argued by Mr. *Polexton*, *Wallop*, and *Holt*, and likewise by my Lord himself. The Substance of what was said is reducible to Four Heads. First, The King's Prerogative. Secondly, The Liberty of the Subject. Thirdly, The Privilege of Parliament: And Fourthly, The Jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench.

First, It was urged, That, by bailing of my Lord, the King's Prerogative would be maintained, which would otherwise suffer by his longer Confinement: For that he produced the King's Pardon, as a great Motive to incline the Court to bail him. Besides that, Mr. Attorney had declared the King's particular Inclination to consent to it; and the King having Power to pardon a Person impeached (which Mr. *Polexton* said no Man of the Robe ought to question) tho' the Impeachment be not at his Suit, it was hoped the Court would take so much Notice of

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theſe Intimations of his Majeſty's Juſtice, as to let my Lord out upon Bail, whereby they would aſſert the King's true Power and juſt Prerogative; it being hard, that there ſhall not be a Power of Bailing where there is a Power of Pardoning.

Secondly, The Liberty of the Subject will be preſerved by it; for if there be no Remedy for any Perſon impeached, but that he muſt lye by it, till he be enlarged by the ſame Power that committed him, it would follow, that, during the Receſſes of Parliament, a Failure of Juſtice would ariſe, which will be a heavy Blow to that natural Freedom to which the Subjects of *England* by Birth-right are intituled; and ſuch a Puniſhment as is not only a Condemnation, but may prove even an Execution before Tryal: For probably, my Lord being oppreſſed with the Inconvenience of the Place, and with his own Infirmities, may die in the Jayl before his Enlargement by his Peers, and the Stain of his Impeachment dwell upon his Memory, and his Poſterity for ever: For the Prevention of which lamentable Caſe, and for Preſervation of that due Liberty which the King's Subjects ought to have, it was conceived that my Lord ought to be bailed.

Thirdly, The Privileges of Parliament would not hereby be infringed; for, to bail a Man being committed by a ſuperior Court, is not to aſſume a Juriſdiction of his Cauſe, or any way to claim a Cognizance of it (which it was granted the Court of King's Bench, in Caſes of Impeach-

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Impeachment, ought not to do) but it was only an enlarging of his Prison, or (as Mr. *Wallop* said, a lengthening of his Chain, instead of his remaining *in arcta custodia*, for so is every Man let out upon good Bail presumed to be; and the Law looks upon his Forthcoming to be as secure as if he were under close Confinement: So that such a Proceeding as this is not to intrench, or to encroach upon the Privileges of Parliament, but only to avoid a great Evil, a Failure of Justice.

Fourthly, By bailing my Lord of *Danby*, the Court would assert their own Jurisdiction, it being conceived that the Court of King's Bench have always intermeddled with Circumstances and mediate Acts relating to things done in Parliament, thereafter, as the Necessity of the Case required (tho' not with the very things themselves) and to that Purpose several Precedents were cited; as one of *Okey*, and two other Traitors, who were attainted in Parliament, and before Execution awarded, there happened a Prorogation. Whereupon the Record of their Conviction was removed into the King's Bench, and the Prisoners brought to the Bar, and having nothing to say why Execution should not be awarded against them, were accordingly executed. This was the Sum of what was said by all those that argued. The Court was divided, whether they should give their Opinion presently, or take Time; but they resolved to consider till the next Term, and my Lord was again remanded to Prison.

Upon

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Upon this Occasion, I have thought fit to give a Copy of the Lord Chief Justice *Pemberton*'s Charge, upon summing up the Evidence upon the Tryal of *Fitzharris* in *London*.

THE *Prisoner at the Bar, Gentlemen of of the Jury, is charged with Treason, for Libelling the Government, and setting others to do it. Whether* Fitzharris *be the Author of this Libel, or not, is the Question. The Evidence against him is very great. Mr.* Everard *declares to you the whole Design and Discourse with him; he tells you the Manner, and gives you the very Grounds on which the Libel was to be written. It was, to raise Sedition, to make an Insurrection, and to stir up People to rebel. Mr.* Everard *was so cautious, that he walked not alone in this Case, but with much Prudence declared it to others, that they might be Witnesses with him, and Mr.* Smith *agrees with him in all things: How he heard* Fitzharris *give the Directions for making this Libel, heard the Design of it, and the Reward promised for the doing it, which was the first Night. The next Night Sir* William Waller *was present, and says,* Fitzharris *gave the same Instructions, and owned them; and what is not to be answered, they are all under his own Hand; which Directions are Treason enough, and is as strong an Evidence against him as perhaps ever was; and I think a plainer Evidence cannot be given, than that* Fitzharris *is the Author of this Libel. The Witnesses he brings for himself are Mr.* Oates *and Mr.* Cornish;

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niſh: *The Firſt ſays, That Mr.* Everard *told him, this was a Deſign, and that it ſhould be put into the Pockets of ſome Lords and Members of Parliament, and that they ſhould be apprehended and queſtioned for the Libel: But Mr.* Everard *upon his Oath teſtifies he never ſaid any ſuch thing. Then Mr.* Corniſh *ſays, That having ſome Diſcourſe with his Majeſty concerning Mr.* Fitzharris, *the King ſaid, he was an ill Man, and had ſome Money from him for ſome Service he promiſed to do him; but it can never be thought, that the King would give Money to ſtir up his Subjects againſt him, or to hazard all that is near and dear to him: And if you believe* Fitzharris's *own Hand-writing, or any Evidence that can be given, 'tis a plain Caſe that he is Guilty: And for ſaying, he would charge you with his Blood, becauſe he is impeached by the Commons, that's nothing at all to the Matter, nor are you to have any Conſideration, whether we have Power to try him, or not; that is a Queſtion already determined: There lyes no more before you, who are the Jury, but only to conſider, whether Guilty, or Not Guilty. And as to the Vote of the Commons, that can no more alter the Laws of the Land, than a Letter to us from the King, of which we are not to take Notice, being upon our Oaths to do Juſtice, and ſee if he be Guilty, or not. If he be Guilty, you can no more ſpare him, than condemn an innocent Man. The Vote of the Houſe of Commons can neither excuſe us nor you: We are to try Matters of Law, and you the Matter of Fact. But you, Mr.* Johnſon, *who*

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who are the Foreman of the Jury, to give you all manner of Satisfaction, this Doubt was moved to my Brother Jones, *when he gave the Charge to the Grand Jury; upon which all the Judges of* England *met, and they all agreed we might try him: And this was done, to remove all manner of Scruple that might arise.*

Some few Days after this, Sheriff *Bethel* having received a Warrant for the Execution of Mr. *Oliver Plunket* and Mr. *Fitzharris*, the First was put upon a Sledge at *Newgate*, and delivered to the Sheriff, who carried him with a strong Guard to the Place of Execution, and where he spoke as follows.

TO the final Satisfaction of all Persons who have the Charity to believe the Words of a dying Man, I declare before God, and as I hope for Salvation, that what I have said, and what is contained in a Paper signed with my own Hand, is the plain and naked Truth, without any Equivocation, mental Reservation, or any secret Evasion whatsoever, taking the Words in their usual Sense and Meaning, as Protestants do, when they discourse with all Candor and Sincerity.

Having made this Protestation, and prayed, he was tyed up, and afterwards quartered, and his Bowels burnt. Captain *Richardson*, Keeper of *Newgate*, being asked by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, how his Prisoner had behaved himself?

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ſelf? he replied, *Very well: For when I came to him this Morning, he was newly awake, having ſlept all Night without any Diſturbance; and when I told him, he was to prepare for his Execution, he received the Meſſage with all Quietneſs of Mind, and went to the Sledge as unconcerned, as if he had been going to a Wedding.*

The ſame Day, after this Execution, the Sheriff went to the *Tower*, and at the Barriers on *Tower-Hill* Mr. *Fitzharris* was delivered to him, whom he carried with a ſtrong Guard thro' the City to the Place of Execution; and being aſked by the Sheriff, of what Religion he died? he replied, *A Proteſtant*; and being urged to make a Confeſſion, he ſaid,

Good People,

I Am come hither to die an ignominious Death, the Manner of which troubles me more than Death it ſelf: The Crimes for which I am accuſed and condemned I am guiltleſs of; *and what Sir* William Waller *and Mr.* Smith *ſwore againſt me is falſe. All that I have to ſay more is contained in this Paper:*

Which he gave to Mr. *Hawkins* the Miniſter, who, after the Execution, gave the Sheriff a Copy of it, the Original being ſent to the King at *Windſor.*

The Duke of *Monmouth* having lately paſſed up and down the Kingdom in a Manner that gave much Offence to his Majeſty; and having been at *Weſt-Cheſter*, where the Mayor being a Fana-

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Fanatick, and his Wife Neice to the late *Bradshaw*, the Great Traitor, his Grace was very well received by them; but at *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, and other Places, neither the Magistrates nor Gentry took much Notice of him. However, by the King's Command, a Sergeant at Arms was sent down to *Stafford* to bring him up; and being brought to one of the Secretaries of State, after Examination of him, he committed him by a second Warrant to the Custody of the Sergeant at Arms (which Warrant charged his Grace to have passed thro' several Parts of the Kingdom, with great Numbers of People, in a riotous Manner, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace, and to the Terror of the King's good Subjects) who was to keep him in Custody, till he should give Security to appear at the King's Bench, the First Day of the next Term, to answer to such Information as should be brought against him on the King's Behalf; and that in the mean time he should be of good Behaviour. And the First Day of the Term the Duke of *Monmouth* was upon his *Habeas Corpus* brought before Judge *Raymond*, where he gave the desired Security; the Earl of *Clare*, the Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Mr. *Gower* and Mr. *Offeley*, being his Bail. The Duke was bound in Ten Thousand Pounds, and the Bail each in Two Thousand Pounds. The Behaviour of the Duke gives the King every Day more Offence, and particularly his having accosted the Earl of *Hallifax* with very unbecoming Language, upon Account

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count of something supposed his Lordship had said in Council concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*. The King was pleased in Council to declare, That he looked upon it as an Insolence offered to himself, for any one to question a Privy Counsellour for any thing said in Council; and did strictly forbid all Persons having any Relation to his Service, to have for the future any Communication with the Duke of *Monmouth*, who hath been so angry with his Wife for seeing the Dutchess, by whom she was very kindly received, that the Duke of *Monmouth* will not see his Dutchess.

An Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, in Behalf of the Duke, was brought against Mr. *Pilkington*, for Words spoken by him when his Royal Highness dined last in *London* with the *Artillery Company*. The Words spoken were these: *He hath burnt the City, and is now come to cut our Throats: Innuendo* the Duke of *York*. The Jury were all Gentlemen of Quality of *Hertfordshire* (which County Mr. *Pilkington* had chosen) and they gave his Royal Highness One Hundred Thousand Pounds Damage; which will doubtless teach factious Persons, who have lived of late with so much Licence in their Discourses, to govern their Tongues better.

Letters from *Scotland* tell us, that Affairs go there according to Wish: That the Parliament there have written a Letter of Thanks to the King, for sending the Duke of *York*, which we hope will break the Measures of those

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who flattered themſelves with a Support from that Kingdom, which has not been in many Ages more united than it is at preſent, under the prudent Conduct of his Royal Highneſs. Our Letters from thence tell us, that the Lords of the Articles had prepared three publick Bills; the Firſt, for recognizing the Rights of the Crown and the Succeſſion; the Second, for continuing a Tax for Five Years longer, for Maintainance of the ſtanding Forces: The Third, a Bill for eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant Religion, which paſſed very chearfully in the Articles, and Duke *Hamilton* concurred in them all. The Letters add, That the Duke is highly eſteemed and beloved of all Sorts of People, and that there is a conſtant and great Court of Lords and Ladies. Major *Ogleſthorp* brings this Account, which is very pleaſing to all the People in this Court.

The Apprentices in *London* preſented their Petition to his Majeſty, with Twelve Thouſand Hands, to give his Majeſty Thanks for his late Declaration. It met with a gracious Acceptance, and thoſe that carried it were introduced by the Lord Chamberlain, and had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand. The King gave them a Brace of Bucks out of *Hyde* Park, and they made a great Feaſt in *London*. The Duke of *Albemarle*, and many of the Nobility did them the Honour to be preſent at their Feaſt, which they intend to keep annually; and the Duke of *Grafton* and the Earl of *Feverſham* have done them the Honour to be their Stewards

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ards for the next Year. The Apprentices of *Briſtol*, in Imitation of thoſe of *London*, have ſubſcribed an Addreſs, to give the King their moſt humble Thanks for his gracious Declaration. The Nobility and Gentry of *Norfolk* have done the like; and the Addreſſes from all Parts on the ſame Account come in very faſt; and one has been preſented from the Lieutenancy of *London*, and from *Southwark*, and 'tis wiſhed they may have the good Effect they were intended for.

The Lord Mayor of *London*, with the Court of Aldermen, attended the King at *Hampton-Court* with a Petition from the Common Council, deſiring his Majeſty to aſſemble a Parliament. The Lord Chancellor, by the King's Command, gave them a very ſevere Reprimand, telling them, that the King wondered how they durſt bring ſuch a Paper to him in Name of the City, when it was againſt the Senſe of the beſt Part of the City: That the King knew there were reſtleſs Spirits amongſt them, and would ſet a Mark upon them; and that if they went on in thoſe Courſes, he would make them ſenſible of his Diſpleaſure. The 7th of *July* 1681, the Lord Mayor came again to *Hampton-Court*, with a Petition of the Common Council, and the Lord Chancellor gave them an Anſwer much like the laſt. This Morning the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was taken by a Warrant from Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, and his Trunks and Papers ſeized, and both he and they were carried before the Council, where he was exami-

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ned so privately, that all the Clerks of the Council were turned out. It is said, he was taken upon the Information of Mr. *Haynes*, Mr. *Macknamarra*, and *Ivy*, who, 'tis said, corroborate the Testimony *Fitzharris* gave to Mr. *Hawkins*, amongst whose Papers is found one of Instructions or Directions to *Fitzharris*, with several Heads of what he should plead, and what he should swear to. The Hand is very well known, and will be made publick. The King was present at this extraordinary Council held at *Whitehall*, where the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was brought in Custody of a Sergeant at Arms, and was told there was a Charge of High Treason againſt him, which would be proved by several Witnesses; whereupon he was committed to the *Tower*, and that Evening the Duke of *Monmouth*, with several Lords, went to visit him, which occasioned a greater Restraint upon him; and he and my Lord *Howard* are both close Prisoners, and only their Wives are permitted to come to them.

The Proceedings this Session at the *Old Baily* were very remarkable, most of the Judges being there, and many Persons of the first Quality; as, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and several others. Mr. *Wallop* and Mr. *Williams* pleaded hard for the *Habeas Corpus* for the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and the Lord *Howard*: But the *Tower* being a Prison out of the City, and their Meeting being only a Session of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, the *Habeas Corpus* could not lye in that Court. A Bill of Indictment was then presented

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ted to the Grand Jury of the City of *London*, againſt *Colledge*, the *Prateſtant Joyner*, as he was always called. The Witneſſes againſt him were Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Dugdale*, Mr. *Haynes*, the two *Macknamara's*, and Sir *William Jennings*. They all poſitively ſwore, that *Colledge* told them, there was a Deſign to ſeize the King at *Oxford*, and bring him to *London*, and there keep him, till he had complied with them, or elſe to bring him to the Block, as they did his Father; and that in this Deſign the Houſe of Lords and Commons were concerned, and that there was an Army ready at *London* to aſſiſt them. It is certainly true, that never Men ſwore more firmly than they did in Court, before the Jury, who demanded of the Court a Copy of their Oaths, and that the Witneſſes might go with them, to be examined apart; which Requeſt was granted to the Jury, and after two or three Hours Conſideration, the Jury returned, and found the Bill *Ignoramus*. Upon which the Lord Chief Juſtice demanded, whether they would give no Reaſon for this Verdict; and whether they believed thoſe Six Witneſſes perjured? To which they replied, That they had given their Verdict according to their Conſciences, and that they would ſtand by it. To which the Lord Chief Juſtice *North* ſaid, *There was never ſuch a Verdict brought in the World.* The Grand Jury, before they were diſcharged, delivered a Petition to the Court, deſiring the Removal of the Prieſts and Jeſuits farther from the Lords in the *Tower*, they

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holding Correſpondence with them. Upon bringing in this Bill *Ignoramus*, *Colledge* will be ſent to be tryed in *Oxford*, where the Judges arrived the 15th of *July*. Their Commiſſion was opened, and the Grand Jury was ſworn, of which Sir *Thomas Spencer* was Foreman; the reſt were all Gentlemen of Loyalty, and Proteſtants, and of good Eſtates; and upon hearing the Evidence againſt *Colledge*, they found the Indictment *Billa vera*, *nemine contradicente*. One of the Evidence againſt him ſwore, That if the King did not agree with his Parliament, there was a Deſign to ſeize upon him, and Thirty Thouſand Men were ready in the City of *London* to back the Deſign; and that if the King refuſed to paſs the Bill of Excluſion, they would ſerve him as they did his Father. This *Colledge* was brought to his Tryal at *Oxford*, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *North* and Juſtice *Jones*. The Tryal laſted from Two in the Afternoon, till Two in the Morning, ſo much Time was taken up in examining the Witneſſes. The Evidence againſt the Priſoner was the ſame which was at the *Old-Baily*; thoſe for the Priſoner were chiefly Mr. *Oates*, *Mowbray*, and *Waldron*, who ſaid, that *Dugdale* and *Smith* told them, they knew nothing againſt *Colledge*; but they denied it upon their Oaths, and the Jury brought him in Guilty; and ſome Hours after the Priſoner received his Sentence, the Court meeting again for that Purpoſe. Some Days after, *Colledge* was executed, and his Head was ſet upon

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upon *Temple-Bar*, to be a Warning to others to avoid his Fate.

Mr. *Sidney* in *Holland* finding that his Majesty was much surprized at his having taken a Commission in *Holland*, without his Leave, to be General of all the *English* Forces there, which hath been vacant since the Death of the Earl of *Ossory*, hath been perswaded by his Friends to resign that Employment to the Earl of *Arran*, Son to Duke *Hamilton*, who is now very well at the Court in *Scotland*, and has the King's Leave to accept of the *Scotch* Regiment in *Holland*, whereof *Kilpatrick* was Collonel, which the Prince of *Orange* has offered him.

About this time the Prince of *Orange* came for *England*, and was very well received by the King and Court, and had been several times in private with the King. Various Discourses are raised about his Coming, and his Return will be very sudden. He hath been something unlucky at Play, having lost in one Night, Three Thousand Pounds at *Basset*. His Highness, whilst in *London*, lodges at *Arlington-House*, where he hath been magnificently entertained at the King's Charge, and hath been likewise treated very splendidly by the Duke of *Albemarle*. His Highness was also invited to dine with the Lord Mayor of *London*, and accepted the Invitation, and great Preparations were made for his Reception; and as he was preparing to dine in *London*, he received an Express from his Majesty to come presently to *Windsor*, which he did, and the Secretary of State carried his Excuse.

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cuſe. After this the Lord Mayor ſent the two Sheriffs to invite his Highneſs to dine with him, who promiſed the next Day to dine with his Lordſhip: But the King ſent for him again that Day; whereupon his Highneſs ſent his own Secretary to excuſe it, and left the Lord Mayor under a very great Diſappointment: And not many Hours before he left *Windſor*, a Cabinet Council was there held concerning *Flanders*, wherein the Prince of *Orange* was preſent; but the Reaſon of his Coming is ſtill kept very ſecret, which none can tell. About this time the Lord Mayor carried up an Addreſs of the Common Hall to the King at *Hampton-Court*, and gave it to the King in Council. Sir *John Shorter*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, Mr. *Bethel*, and Mr. *Corniſh* attended upon his Lordſhip, who having preſented the Addreſs to his Majeſty, he was pleaſed to return this Anſwer by the Lord Chancellor.

My Lord,

YOU have preſented the King with a Paper, which hath been publickly printed long ſince; and the King doth not believe it is now preſented ſo much for the Satisfaction of his Majeſty, as to ſerve for ſome other End. The King knows that the major Part of the City are well inclined to his Service, and that it is not in the Power of a few ill Men amongſt them to corrupt the reſt. The King therefore doth not believe this to be ſo unanimous a Vote of the City as is pretended; and he commands me

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to tell you, that if he did believe it were so (as he does not) that you have meddled with a thing that is none of your Business; and so dismissed them.

The Carriage of Mr. *Oates* has been such, especially at the Tryal of *Colledge*, where he was a Witness against the King, in things wherein he was notoriously disproved, that his Majesty hath thought fit to take from him the Pensions he gave him, as also the Lodging he had at *Whitehall*, which was intimated to him with a Command to leave the Court. The King hath likewise commanded the Lodgings the Earl of *Mecklesfield* and the Lord *Mancheſter* had at Court to be taken from them; and at the same time the young Lord *Mordaunt* (who hath for some time associated with the discontented Lords) hath made his Peace, and waited upon the King.

About this time I received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, written with his own Hand, in these Words following, dated the 19th of *August* 1681.

SIR,

YOurs come so regularly, that I cannot sufficiently acknowledge your great Care and punctual Correspondence. I send you now two Acts of Parliament from Scotland, *that will not be unwelcome to you: A Third is coming out (being agreed by the Lords of the Articles) whereby the Subsidies to the Militia are continued*

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nued for Five Years longer. This Term is to commence when the preſent Act expires, which will be in 1683. *'Twill be no Matter of Delight to you, that* Colledge *had Sentence of Death pronounced againſt him at* Oxford, *for High Treaſon; but it will pleaſe you to hear the Addreſſes ſtill go on, and that an Addreſs will be preſented to his Majeſty on* Sunday, *from* Northamptonſhire, *with Ten Thouſand Hands. I am,* &c. *Yours,*

L. JENKINS.

I had another Letter from the ſame Hand, the 23d of *September* 1681.

SIR,

I Have the Favour of yours to acknowledge, I did never underſtand that the Places which the French *have now ſeized into their own Hands, were Dependencies of* China, *and therefore I would fain know upon what Account the* French *have poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral other Places, that are not ſo much as pretended to be Dependencies of* China. *I take Leave to incloſe a Liſt of the publick Acts paſſed in* Scotland, *before the Prorogation, which was on the* 17th *Inſtant to the* 1ſt *of* March. *His Royal Highneſs hath not only come up to the Full of his Inſtructions, but hath done more for that Crown, than hath been done for a very long Time before. I am with much Eſteem,*

Your moſt Humble Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

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The Seſſions at *Hickes's Hall* for the County beginning, and Sir *George Jeffries* being Chairman, he objected againſt the Perſons that were returned to ſerve on the Grand Jury, as being Diſſenters from the Church of *England*, and required the Under-Sheriff to make a new Pannel of ſubſtantial good Men; which he refuſing, the Court ordered the Sheriffs themſelves ſhould attend the next Day: But, inſtead of them, the Recorder of *London* appeared, and told the Court, that the Sheriffs having acquainted the Court of Aldermen with the Order, they were of Opinion, that the Privilege of the City did exempt the Sheriffs from any Attendance at *Hickes's Hall*; and that it was ſufficient if the Under-Sheriff did their Buſineſs: But the Court not allowing the Excuſe, for their Contempt, fined the two Sheriffs One Hundred Pounds, and then adjourned, and reſolved to acquaint the Judges with the Matter. Mr. *Wilſon*, a Secretary to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, was ſeized and committed Priſoner to the *Gate-Houſe*, for High Treaſon, in conſpiring the Depoſing of the King. The ſame Day ſeveral of the *Eaſt India* Company waited on the King, and preſented him with Ten Thouſand Guineas. The *Heer Van Beuninghen* had then a long Audience of the King, and was afterwards in Conference with the Miniſters, about the Affairs of *Flanders*. The ſame Day the Recorder of *London*, with the two Sheriffs, came to *Whitehall*, to invite the King to Dinner on

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on the *Lord Mayor's Day*. The King said, he would on all Occasions express his Kindness to the City, and that he would dine with the Lord Mayor, tho' he received the Invitation by very unwelcome Messengers, meaning the two Sheriffs. I was assured from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*, that a Petition was presented to the King, in the Name of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, wherein he prayed his Liberty, and offered to transport himself and Family to *Carolina*; but his Petition was not received, or at least not answered. I am told, that Sir *Peter Wyche* is called home from *Hambourg*, and that Mr. *Skelton* is to reside there in his Place as the King's Minister to all the Princes in that Quarter. The 18th of *November* 1681, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

WE are here in great Pain about Luxenburgh: *I take therefore Leave of my own Head, to desire you to inform your self (the most exactly that you can) of the Condition of that City: What Charges soever you shall be at, I shall most willingly reimburse. I desire you to send an Express, for we have no good Account of any thing but what we have from you. I am, Sir, with much Esteem,*

Your most Humble Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

In the Beginning of this Year, the *Duc de Villa Hermosa* finished his Government of *Flanders*,

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ders, and was recalled, and the *Prince de Parma* was sent in his Place, who governed all by *Count d'Arquinto* his First Minister, who received all Addresses, and answered them; but had not been long in the Government, before the *Marquis de Grana* was sent from *Spain* thro' *England*, to be Governour of Arms in *Flanders*, and to have the Disposition of the Finances and Money; to which if the *Prince de Parma* did not agree, he was then to leave the Government to the *Marquis de Grana*; but this Matter was kept very private, and the *Marquis* took a private House near the Court. The *Prince de Parma* looking upon this as a very extraordinary Proceeding, was resolved to leave the Government, and using each Evening to take the Air in his Coach, he went away privately to *Liege*, from whence he sent back his Coaches and Retinue to *Count d'Arquinto*, with Order to pay his Debts. And thus the *Prince de Parma* quitted the Government; and upon his retiring, the *Marquis de Grana* took upon him the absolute Government, and immediately had the King's Palace prepared for him. But before the *Prince de Parma* parted, I had Letters of Credence to him, with a Letter from the King; and besides my particular Letters, I had a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* by the King's Command, dated the 29th of *July* 1681.

SIR,

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SIR,

I Am commanded by his Majesty, to signify to you, that it is his Pleasure you should employ your best Endeavours to get my Lord of Castlehaven *satisfied of his Arrears in that Country, his Majesty being graciously pleased to give him what Assistance is usual in that kind. This the King commanded me yesterday, and withal that, I should take my Instructions from my Lord of* Castlehaven *himself. His Lordship called upon me this Morning, and told me, the King having referred him to me, his Desire to you was, that his Arrears might be paid himself as Serjeant General of Battle, and his two Sons as Collonels: And that till his Lordship do receive his Arrears, both for himself and his two Sons (with which Arrears he intends to pay his Debts) his Protection may be renewed and prolonged to him. This I have in Command from his Majesty, whereunto I take Leave to add the Assurance of my being with Esteem, Sir,*

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

Upon this Letter, I presented a Memorial to the *Prince de Parma*, pursuant punctually to those Directions which I received from Sir *Lionel Jenkins*; to which I received this ensuing Answer, which is faithfully translated out of *Spanish* into *English*.

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Although I could refer my self to what I have represented to his Majesty of Great Britain, *and to what I have told your Seigniory in divers Discourses, touching the Interest of the Lord* Castlehaven; *yet, nevertheless, to satisfy the Instances your Seigniory hath made on the Part of the King your Master, for the Payment of the Arrears due to his Lordship, as* Serjeant General de Battaile, *and* Maistre de Camp, *I hope your Seigniory will let your Court know, that it was not the King of* Spain, *but the* Duc de Villa Hermosa *that did give the* English *Regiment to the two Sons of my Lord successively, reducing it to two Companies, which never had in the whole Fourscore Men: And yet the great Esteem I bear to the Arms of the King of* Great Britain, *would not permit me to suffer them to be governed by those whose Age made them uncapable. Adding to this, the Care I took to give Satisfaction to his Lordship, which I found impossible for his Inconstancy and little Settledness, and the Longing he had to quit the Service without Leave, the which I winked at, in respect of the Character he bore of being a Subject to so great a King; and also, that much was to be connived at in the Court by such as knew his natural Temper. According to what I have been informed in gross by the Notices I have had from the several Offices, there is little due to his Lordship; yet, notwithstanding, I have ordered the Account to be made in particular, and so soon as we have Money, his Lordship shall be paid what is due to him.*

For

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For the reſt, I remit my ſelf to the King my Maſter what he ſhall reſolve upon touching the Perſon of his Lordſhip, to whom I have given an Account of all that hath paſſed. Given at the Palace, the 19th of Auguſt 1681.

Alexander Farneſe.

Au Seigneur *Bulſtrode*, Reſident du Roy de la *Grande Brittaine*.

The 14th of *October* 1681, I received the enſuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

I Have yours regularly, and thank you for them with all my Heart. What you have written to me in Count d'Arquinto's *Name, hath been humbly laid before the King, with your ſeparate Letter upon that Subject, and the Hints you have given in your general Letters: The whole Matter is at preſent before his Majeſty; and when any Reſolution comes to my Knowledge, I ſhall be glad to impart it to you with the ſooneſt. My Lord of* Caſtlehaven *fills the King's Ears, and every body's elſe, with his Complaints: He deſires you would have a Care of his Goods, that they be not ſold, for he will ſend Money to redeem them ſpeedily, as he tells his Majeſty. I am, Sir, &c.*

L. JENKINS.

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The 11th of *November* following, I had this following Letter from the ſame Hand.

SIR,

I Have the Favour of your Letters: That which contained the Meſſage of the Prince de Parma *by the* Count d'Arquinto, *being Matter of Haſte and Importance, I would moſt gladly have taken his Majeſty's Pleaſure upon it; but I muſt beg your Reſpite till after* Sunday, *when, at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, it will be proper to treat of it. In the* Interim, *I ſend you the Anſwer of his Majeſty to the* States Generals *Miniſter's Memorial; you may ſee by it the Concern his Majeſty hath for the* Spaniſh Netherlands. *Yours,* &c.

L. JENKINS.

The King hath taken a Reſolution to put the Laws in Execution againſt Diſſenters; and for that Purpoſe he ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex*. My Lord Chancellor told them in the King's Name, that he had long connived at the Non-Execution of the Laws againſt Diſſenters, but that he found his Kindneſs had been ſhewed to a ſort of People that returned all his Goodneſs with all the Diſſervices and Diſſaffection to himſelf and the Government, that they were capable of: That therefore his Majeſty was reſolved they ſhould know what the Law could do, and that they ſhould ſuddenly ſee the Effects of his Majeſty's Commands. The 26th

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of *December* 1681, I had another Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* in these Words.

SIR,

I Have the Favour of several of yours, and you oblige us exceedingly in giving us so punctual Accounts of what occurs on your Side. We are most in Pain about the Places the French *are now blocking up; and the more punctual the Account is that you give us of the Sate and Government of that Country, the better will his Majesty be enabled to take the proper Measures for the general Good. Sure I am, that his Majesty does take infinite Pains, in order to cease the present Violences, and to prevent those that may happen: And you may assure your self (tho' you should not be able to perswade others) that there will appear Evidences of his Majesty's Concern, and that they are very sincere and assiduous for the Good of the* Spanish Netherlands. *Dear Sir, I am with much Esteem,*

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* being dead, his Body will be carried into *Scotland*, and his Garter will be given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who is at present by the King's Command in *Flanders*, in his Travels, Letters being sent to the King's Resident, to wait upon the Duke thro' those Territories, and he will return by *Holland*.

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The Duke being invited to dine in *London* at the Artillery Feast, some of the Factious have had a Project, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and some others should dine together that Day, at some Hall in *London*; but it was not liked upon the declining of their Affairs.

The 17th of *July* 1682, the Common Hall of *London* meeting for the Choice of a Sheriff, the Sheriffs declared to the People, that *Papillion* and *Dubois* had each Two Thousand Voices, and were chosen; but the Lord Mayor hearing of it, went with the usual Solemnity, and declared Mr. *Box* the other Sheriff; and Mr. *North* and *Box* will hold, tho' great Endeavours will be used to dissuade them; and it is believed the Proceedings of the present Sheriffs will be severely punished. Upon the *Prince de Parma*'s quitting the *Spanish* Government of *Flanders*, and the *Marquis de Grana*'s taking it upon him, it's believed that Mr. *Thomas Howard* will make the King's Compliment to him.

About this time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being brought to *Hickes*'s *Hall*, to be tryed for High Treason. The Grand Jury found the Bill *Ignoramus*, whereupon he was acquitted, taken out of the Hands of Justice, and Medals dispersed for his Deliverance, Treason being frontless and secure. Such a bare-faced Affront to Authority can scarce be parallelled, as was seen at this time, when the King was soon over-perswaded to take away the Lives of many honest innocent Men, purely upon the false Asseverations

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tions of Perſons to whom he was almoſt forced to give Penſions, being a Pack of profligated Villains, who were kept in Pay to accuſe any Man that oppoſed their wicked Deſigns, without any Proceſs of Law, hearing their Defence, or any Proof proferred againſt them. And after the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was thus quitted, he retired privately into *Holland*, where he died in the Beginning of 1683, of the Gout in his Stomach.

In *June* 1683, the Lord Mayor, with moſt of the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Recorder, with a great Number of the principal Citizens of *London*, preſented the King in Council with a Petition which had been before agreed in their Common Council, wherein they did in all humble Manner deprecate his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure againſt them, for their late Miſcarriages in the Government of the City, promiſing all Obedience for the future, and humbly begging his Majeſty's Directions for their better Conduct. The Petition was preſented by the Lord Mayor kneeling, with the Aldermen and all the Citizens likewiſe, till the King was pleaſed to bid them riſe. Then the Lord Mayor and the reſt being withdrawn for ſome time, they were called in again. Then the Lord Keeper delivered to them his Majeſty's Pleaſure, repreſenting the great Cauſe of Miſlike that his Majeſty had to their former Proceedings, telling them the particular Regulations that he thought neceſſary to require from them; concluding, that Judgment according to Form ſhould be entered againſt

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againſt them on *Saturday* then following (which might prove very prejudicial to ſome of their Privileges and Cuſtoms, which were Matters of great Profit to them, with which his Majeſty did not intend to meddle) unleſs they did, by the Time preſcribed, voluntarily put into his Majeſty's Hands, by ſuch Conveyance as his Attorney, Sollicitor, and Counſel learned ſhall think fit, the Approving of the Officers that have the principal Part in their Government; ſuch as are the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder, *&c.* ſo as none of them enter upon the Execution of their reſpective Offices, notwithſtanding their being elected in uſual Manner thereunto, till his Majeſty ſhall alſo have approved of them under his Signet and Sign Manual; And many Particulars more were told them by my Lord Keeper. It was obſerved by every body preſent, that the Submiſſion was very cordial, and that it was a great Satisfaction to the Citizens, that his Majeſty took this Courſe to preſerve their Peace, and to aſſert the juſt Rights of the Crown.

The next Day after there was a Common Hall in *London*, where it was reſolved to comply with his Majeſty's Demands, and they have ſaved Mr. Attorney the Trouble of entering Judgment: Whereupon I had this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

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SIR,

I Have the Favour of yours to acknowledge, and in Return I send you the Lord Mayor's and City's Submission. Many of our Friends voted for a Seizure, upon a Scruple of Conscience, desiring rather the King should take those Liberties into his Hands by a Seizure, than come into a Possession of them by a Surrender, since that might blanch something upon the Oaths they took as Freemen. However, the Thing was carried by a Fair Poll for a Surrender. Every Man is well pleased, except those that are implacable, and some there are amongst us still, as it appears by what is now broken out; for every body's Mouth is full of a most horrid and hellish Plot against the Life of the King and his Royal Highness, wherein many People of the first Quality are concerned. I cannot yet give you any certain Account of the Particulars; but the Design was laid in short to shoot the King and Duke at their coming the last Season from Newmarket, *but was prevented by the King's sudden coming from thence, by reason of the Fire which happened there. Several Persons are in Custody upon this Account; some are fled (as* Goodenough, *the late Under Sheriff, and one Mr.* West) *and by the Confession of one of the Accomplices, and by the Examination of another, there was a desperate Design against the King's Life (whom God preserve) and an Insurrection was designed to follow it. We have the Names of divers that are concerned, but find the Birds are flown. I*

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shall be able to tell you more by the next, when you may expect farther Particulars. But this I may now tell you, that his Majesty (who does upon all Occasions too much slight these things) does believe there is great Appearance of Reality in that which is now come to Light. This hath been so busy a Day with me, that I have only Time to close this, and to tell you that I am, Sir, with much Esteem,

Your most Faithful Humble Servant,
L. JENKINS.

By another good Hand from *Whitehall*, of the 25th of *June* 1683, I am told, that Mr. *West* the Lawyer, and Collonel *Ramsey*, had surrendered themselves, and have been examined, and confessed the whole Design of killing the King and Duke, at their late coming from *Newmarket*, of which by God's Providence they were disappointed. It is certain, a more diabolical Design could never be contrived, and the Examinations already taken do plainly bring it to Light. Yesterday the Council met, and a Proclamation was ordered to be forthwith issued out, to tell all the World, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and one *Ferguson*, are of the Number of the Conspirators, and 500 *L.* is offered to such as shall bring in any of them. If the Duke of *Monmouth* be guilty of this Crime, sure it is in him more than High Treason, to which the greatest Punishments of human Laws are assigned. Collonel *Algernoon Sidney* is sent to the *Tower* for

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conſpiring the Death of the King. The Lord *Ruſſel* and Mr. *Trenchard* are likewiſe ſent to the *Tower*, and Major *Wildman* is taken into Cuſtody, in whoſe Lodgings two ſmall Field-Pieces were found, altho' he declared at his being taken, he had no Arms in his Houſe; and hereupon Orders were ſent out to diſarm all diſſaffected Perſons, and a Committee of Lords were ſent to the *Tower*, to examine Collonel *Sidney*.

My Lord *Grey* was carrying to the *Tower*, who made his Eſcape juſt at the *Tower* Gate, out of the Coach from the Sergeant at Arms, who was all alone with him and his Servant. He went directly to the Water Side, and paſſed over into *Southwark*. The Sergeant was aſleep, or what is as bad, conſenting to it. He refuſed to have a Guard of Soldiers, and will be proſecuted with all Severity. Major *Holmes*, an *Oliverian* Officer, and one Mr. *Baillie*, a *Scotchman*, are ſent to the *Gate-houſe* for Treaſon; and *Hone* the Joyner is alſo ſeized, who hath been examined: And tho' he would not accuſe others, he hath confeſſed enough to hang himſelf. The Conſpiracy is confirmed by all, but eſpecially by Mr. *Blaney*, who was privy to moſt of their Intrigues. His Majeſty hath given Leave to the Lady *Ruſſel* to ſee her Huſband in the *Tower*. The Eſcape of the Duke of *Monmouth*, with ſome others of the Conſpirators, is confirmed by Letters from *Portſmouth*, being embarqued on a Dogger Boat, with one *Lock* a rigid Preſbyterian, who

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was Master of her. *Mead*, an Independant Minister, with Six more, is brought from *Essex*. *Mead* is said to have administred a Sacrament of Secrecy to the Conspirators, and one *Bourn*, who is said to be one of those that were to give the fatal Blow.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and several of the Common Council, did in an humble Address to the King and his Royal Highness, congratulate their Delivery from the late Conspiracy: The same did Mr. *North* from *Southwark*, Mr. *Porter* from the *Middle Temple*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr. *James Butler* from *Lincolns Inn*. It is said, that Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, will be made Lord Chief Justice in the Place of Sir *Edmund Sanders*.

About this time I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

I *Have not yet given any Answer to the* Spanish *Memorial which I sent you by the last Post*; *but my Lord* Sunderland *hath to the* Imperial, Holland, *and* Swedish *ones: It is to this Effect, That the* French *Ambassador hath, by Order from the King his Master, declared to his Majesty, that he cannot consent to the Mediation proposed by the Allies. This is the Substance of the Answer*; *I hope by the next to send you the precise Words. Sir* Henry Ingoldsby *and Mr.* Rouse *are taken into Custody for treasonable Matters*; *and Mr.* Aaron Smith *is*

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ſent to the Tower *for High Treaſon. The Lord* Ruſſel, *Mr.* Weſt, *and* Hone *the Joyner, have received Notice to prepare for their Tryal, and the Lady* Ruſſel *preſented a Petition to the King, humbly praying that her Husband might have ſuch Council allowed him, as he ſhall judge neceſſary for his Defence at his intended Tryal.*

I am, Sir, Your, &c.

L. JENKINS.

The 9th of *July* 1683, I received this enſuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins.*

SIR,

OUR Toil here that hath hindered my writing to you, is ſo far from ceaſing, that it increaſes daily. So univerſal, by God's Bleſſing, is the Diſcovery, and conſequently, the Defeat of the Conſpiracy. The Earl of Eſſex *is ſent for this Afternoon to the Council, and ſo is Mr.* Henry Booth *of* Cheſhire, *and others. You will judge of the Reaſonableneſs, or rather the Neceſſity of this Way of Proceeding, by the Account you will hear of the Tryal of ſome of the Conſpirators, that will come on this Week. The Duke meets the King conſtantly at the Cabinet Council, as formerly. I am, Sir, ever,*

Your moſt Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

The Grand Jury of *London* have found Bills of Indictment againſt theſe Perſons following: *Thomas Walcot, Richard Goodenough, Richard Rumbold,*

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Rumbold, *Nathaniel Wade*, *Richard Nelthorp*, *Robert Ferguſon*, *William Thomſon*, *James Burton*, *John Rouſe*, *Edward Norton*, *James Holloway*, *Joſeph Tilly*, *Francis Goodenough*, *William Hone*, *William Blague*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Grey*, Duke of *Monmouth*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*; and accordingly *Walcot*, *Rouſe*, *Hone*, and *Blague*, were arraigned immediately; and *Walcot* being brought to his Tryal, after a long Hearing, was found Guilty of High Treaſon by the Jury. He confeſs'd he was not to have killed the King, but had engaged himſelf to oppoſe the Guards. This Morning, being the 13th of *July*, the Lord *Ruſſel* and *Hone* the Joyner, were brought to their Tryal, and found Guilty of High Treaſon. At the ſame time the King being viſiting a Fortification that was making in the *Tower*, the Earl of *Eſſex* withdrawing into his Cloſet, cut his own Throat with his Razor, of which he died immediately.

The 14th of *July* the Privy Council met, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen attending, were ſent for into the Council, and the Lord Chancellor told them, That the King had taken Notice of the irregular Proceeding of the Common Hall about the Election of Sheriffs, and the great Diſorders occaſioned thereby; and that, for the Prevention of farther Miſchief, his Majeſty did command the Lord Mayor to begin the whole Proceeding *de novo*, and that his Lordſhip ſhould take great Care to maintain the ancient Cuſtoms of the City.

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Whereupon the Common Hall meeting, the Order of Council was read, and my Lord Mayor told them, That, in Obedience to it, they were to begin their whole Proceedings *de novo*, and accordingly Mr. *North* was put up to be confirm'd, and the Lord Mayor declared him one of the Sheriffs. Then they were to go to the Poll, which Sheriff *Chute* declared they did with a *ſalvo Jure* to their former Choice, and the Sheriffs had made a Column in their Poll Bill, to Poll negatively againſt Mr. *North*'s Confirmation, with which the Lord Mayor was ſo unſatisfied, that he adjourned the Poll till the next Day, intending then his own Officers to take the Poll.

The 20th of *July*, *Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rouſe* were executed at *Tyburn*, the firſt of them moſt remarkably penitent, and hath made a Declaration under his Hand of many more Particulars of his own and others Guilt in this horrid Conſpiracy, than hath been yet imputed to them. To morrow, the Lord *Ruſſel* will loſe his Head in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, of which I had this following Account from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*. *On* Saturday *the Lord* Ruſſel *was brought to the Place of his Execution in his own Coach, accompanied with Dr.* Tillotſon *and Dr.* Burnet. *He behaved himſelf with great Courage. The Execution being ended, a Speech was publiſhed by his Lady's Direction, wherein were ſeveral Reflections defaming the Juſtice of the Nation; and Dr.* Burnet *being ſuſpected to have had a Hand*

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in it, he was examined before the Council about it; and one Johnſon, *the late Lord* Ruſſel's *Chaplain, was examined, as well about the ſaid Speech, as for ſome Paſſages in the Life of* Julian the Apoſtate, *whereof he was the Author. A Declaration containing an Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the preſent Conſpiracy, hath been read and approved in Council, and in purſuance of it, the 9th of* September *is appointed a Day of ſolemn Thankſgiving in all Churches, for ſo great a Deliverance.* At the ſame time I am told from *Whitehall*, that Prince *George* of *Denmark* was arrived; that he was a Perſon of a good Mein, and had dined with the King, Queen, and Duke, who gave the Prince the upper Hand. The Court will ſoon return to *Windſor*, where the Marriage between the Prince and Lady *Anne* will be conſummated. His Preſents (which are very noble) are preſented to her, and their Families will be ſettled after the Manner of the Duke's and Dutcheſs's, but not ſo numerous. A Chapter will be held at *Windſor* for chuſing Prince *George* into the moſt noble Order of the Garter; but the Prince hath deſired it may be deferred, till he hath written to the King of *Denmark*, for his Leave to forbear wearing the Order of the Elephant, for that it would not be ſeemly to wear that and the Order of the Garter at the ſame time.

The King's Declaration concerning the Plot gives great Satisfaction, wherein the particular Steps and Methods of it were ſet down; and

Mr.

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Mr. *Carlton*, who is named in the King's Declaration, is brought up from *Oxfordshire*, where he was seized; and being very intimate with the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, he hath been examined by the Council, and is still in the Messenger's Hands, and is putting in Writing what he knows of the Conspiracy, which is expected to be very considerable, because of his known Intimacy with the late Earl. The present Earl, and the Lord *Ashley* his Son (who is a very hopeful young Gentleman) have kissed the King's Hand at *Windsor*. The King hath desired his Royal Highness to forbear Hunting this Season, it not being safe for him at this time, when such villainous Designs are discovered against his Life. One Major *Creed*, and Major *Gladman*, two *Oliverian* Officers, are both seized upon Account of this Conspiracy. Mr. *Speake* of *Somersetshire* is also seized, and continues in the Custody of one of the King's Messengers; and Mr. *Hawkins* of the *Temple*, a great Confidant of the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, hath been taken and examined before the Lords of the Council, and hath since had his Liberty upon Bail. The *Marquis de Tilladet*, and the *Marquis de la Fare*, were sent by the *French* King and the Duke of *Orleans*, to congratulate with his Majesty and his Royal Highness, upon the Discovery of this Conspiracy. The King sends the Earl of *Dumbarton* and the Duke, and Mr. *Nichols* of the Bedchamber, to condole with the *French* King upon the Death of his Queen, which hath put our Court into

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Mourning for Three Months. The First of *October* 1683, I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

I presented yours of the 5th current to his Majesty, who read every Word of it himself; and then I presented him with your private Letter to me, touching Mr. Cittar's *Information against you concerning your Religion. The King commanded me to tell you from him, that such Complaints as those should do you no Prejudice in his Majesty's Thoughts: That he very well approves of the Service you do him, and that he will always have a gracious Protection for you. I am, Sir,*

Your most Humble Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

The 26th of *November* following, I received this Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, all written with his own Hand.

SIR,

YOur last private Letter, as well as your publick one, were read before his Majesty yesterday in Council. Your Answers to the Governour were well approved of, especially that Article wherein you observed to him, That it is out of the Sphere of any foreign Ministers, to take upon them to alledge, or make use of any Argument grounded upon the Sentiment or Desires of the Subjects and Vassals of the Prince that

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that a foreign Minister so alledging resides with? For Example, would the King of Spain *have taken it well, that Sir* Henry Goodrick *should have urged, why he offered his Majesty's Arbitrage, the Sentiments or Desires of the* Spanish *Nation, either in their Provinces, or else in other Territories of the Catholick King? Can* Don Pedro de Ronquillos *make it out, that the City of* London *does desire, that his Majesty should embark in a War? Does he know the Sentiments of the Council of* Scotland *and* Ireland? *Hath he put all the Sentiments of those great Bodies into a Balance? Does he know which amongst them will preponderate? There was a Time (and 'tis within your Memory and mine) when not only foreign Ministers with Character, but their very Clerks and* Valets de Chambre *did meddle with our Affairs of State, and might (as they thought) with our publick Councils. This was an Indignity upon the King, I hope it will be so no more. Sure I am of one thing, they did not do our Business, which they pretended highly to do; if they have done their own, much good may it do them. You have already all the Account I can give you of the Duke of* Monmouth, *saving that yesterday Evening, after Council, he came to my Office, and I discharged the Sergeant at Arms that had him in Custody: Then I waited upon him, as I had been ordered, to the Duke: The Duke carried him immediately to the King. After his Examination, the King carried him to the Queen. Then the Duke brought him back again to his own*

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own Side, to the Dutcheſs, and he was all this Morning at Court. I am, Sir,

Your moſt Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

It ſeems, the Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Ormond*, and ſeveral other Lords of the Privy Council, knowing for certain, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was at Court, and had been well received and pardoned by the King, went to viſit the Duke of *Monmouth* at the *Cock-pit*; and ſome People had the Confidence to contradict what was publiſhed concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, tho' nothing was printed concerning him, but by Order from the King and Council, and entered *verbatim* in the Council Book, that it might be kept in particular. However, what was printed concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, was the Subject of much Diſcourſe, and the Whiggs and factious People had the Impudence to ſay it was falſe, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not make any Confeſſion of the Conſpiracy; and the Thing went ſo far, that Reports were ſpread abroad, of Diſcourſes the Duke of *Monmouth* had himſelf held to that Purpoſe, and that the printed Relation was injurious to him; ſo that there was a Neceſſity that ſome publick Notice ſhould be taken of it, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould vindicate the King's Honour as well as his own, by owning publickly the Confeſſion he had made to the King, in Preſence of his Royal Highneſs, with which his Majeſty was ſo well

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pleaſed, as not only to grant him his Pardon, which was to paſs forthwith under the Great Seal, but likewiſe gave him a conſiderable Sum of Money for the Frankneſs of his Confeſſion. But upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s denying what was publiſhed concerning him, and having declared the ſame in divers publick Places, and the Perſons being ſent for and examined, they declared, That they heard the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf deny that he had made any ſuch Confeſſion of the Conſpiracy; and the Factious thereupon beginning to ſhew themſelves with great Confidence, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary, that publick Notice ſhould be taken of it. Whereupon the King required the Duke of *Monmouth* to make a publick Declaration either before the Council, or elſe to confeſs publickly what he had declared and owned to his Majeſty, when he was firſt brought to the King by his Royal Highneſs: But the Duke of *Monmouth* then having his Pardon under the Great Seal, and the Money which the King gave him, did abſolutely refuſe to conform to what his Majeſty ſo juſtly required of him, and which the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould not have made the leaſt Scruple of doing. The King was ſo highly offended at the Duke's refuſing to perform ſo neceſſary a Part of his Duty, that he forthwith ordered Mr. Vice-Chamberlain *Saville*, to ſignify to him his Majeſty's Pleaſure, That he ſhould not any more come into the King's Preſence, and that he ſhould preſently leave the Court; which the Duke

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of *Monmouth* did, and took a little House in *Holbourn*, to the Astonishment of all Men that had any Duty for the King or Government. Upon this the Whiggs and factious People made it the great Subject of all their Discourses: Whereupon the King was pleased to declare publickly, That the Duke of *Monmouth* did confess to him, in Presence of the Duke, all the Plot, and did repeat to him all the considerable Particulars sworn by the Witnesses, and did assure the King, that what the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* had sworn against *Algernoon Sidney*, was true; and that he was one of the most dangerous Men to the Government in his Majesty's Dominions: And yet, at the same time, several Persons of Credit deposed, That they had heard the Duke of *Monmouth* disown what was published about him, and refused to make a publick Declaration of what he had confessed and owned to the King.

Soon after this, the King was pleased to acquaint the Lords of his Council, That having received the Duke of *Monmouth* into his Mercy, and having since heard several Reports from the Duke's own Servants and others, that the Duke had made no Confession to his Majesty of the Conspiracy, nor owned any Share he had in it: The King did therefore think fit, for the Vindication of the Truth of what the Duke of *Monmouth* had declared to him and the Duke of *York*, to require the same from him in writing a Letter under his own Hand, which the said Duke of *Monmouth* refused to do in the Terms

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it was commanded him: His Majesty was so much offended therewith, that he had forbid him his Presence, and commanded him to depart the Court: And for the farther Information of the Council, his Majesty had directed the Letter that the Duke had been required to sign, to be entered in the Council Book, declaring he did not intend it should be a Secret. The Letter was as follows.

I Have heard some Reports of me, as if I should have lessened the late Plot, and have gone about to discredit the Evidence against those that have died by Justice. Your Majesty and the Duke know how ingenuously I have owned the late Conspiracy; and tho' I was not conscious of any Design against your Majesty's Life, yet I lament the having a great Hand in the other Part of the Conspiracy, which was the Confederacy. Sir, I have taken the Liberty to put this in Writing, for my own Vindication, and I beseech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the Fault you have forgiven me, and I will take Care, never to commit any more against you, nor to come within the Danger of being again misled from my Duty, but shall make it the Business of my whole Life to deserve the Pardon your Majesty hath given to

Your most Dutiful Son, &c.

The King having made this Declaration concerning the Duke of *Monmouth* to the Council, caused it to be entered in the Council Book, that

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that Copies might be taken of it, which gave a general and great Satisfaction; whereas many before began to be ſtaggered with the Reports that were with ſo much Confidence, or rather Impudence, ſpread abroad; and the great Wonder was, why the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould refuſe to give the King and the World the Satisfaction of ſigning the above-written Paper. The Duke of *Monmouth* declared upon going from his Houſe in *Holbourn*, that he would retire privately to his Houſe in *Moore Park*, but none know (at leaſt publickly) where he now is; and I have been told from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, that he had written a ſubmiſſive Letter to the King, but not being in the Terms his Majeſty expected, he would take no Notice of it.

Mr. *Algernoon Sidney* will be executed the next Week, the Warrant being ſigned for his Execution, and the Lord Chief Juſtice hath committed two Perſons to *Newgate*, for uſing ſome ſcandalous Expreſſions concerning Mr. *Sidney*'s Tryal and Jury, it being fit that ſome ſhould be made Examples, to teach others to govern their Tongues. On the 7th of *December*, Mr. *Sidney* was beheaded. He came on Foot from the *Tower* to the Scaffold upon *Tower Hill*: He there ſaluted the People, and gave the Sheriffs a Paper, which he deſired might be communicated to the World; and kneeling down, he prayed to himſelf for ſome Minutes, and then riſing undreſſed himſelf. The Sheriffs aſked him, if he had nothing to ſay? who

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anſwered, he had nothing to ſay or to do, but to die: And being undreſſed, and putting on his Cap, he laid himſelf down, and bid the Executioner do his Duty, who ſtruck off his Head at one Blow. The Sheriffs carried the Paper to the King, which was an Invective againſt the Government, his Judges, Jury, and Witneſſes, and concludes with this Expreſſion, That he *doubts not but God Almighty will continue to own the Cauſe for which he died.* He ſhewed a great Courage and Unconcernedneſs for Death; but it is to be wiſhed he had ſhewed a more Chriſtian Temper. He had no Miniſter with him, having a Religion of his own, and his Paper may be juſtly called, a very venemous Libel: He ſeems to juſtify the laſt Rebellion, and prayed God ſtill to ſupport the Old Cauſe, for which he appeared ſo eminently heretofore. It is certain, that he carried his deteſtable Principles againſt Monarchy and the eſtabliſhed Government with him to his Grave, and gloried in his treaſonable Actions and Practices, rather than repented of them. The Paper he gave the Sheriffs will not be printed; it begins thus: *Men, Brethren, and Fathers, Friends, Countrymen, and Strangers*; and having juſtified his own Book, and exclaimed againſt the Proceedings at his Tryal, it ends thus: *By theſe means am I brought hither; the Lord forgive their Practices, and avert the Evils which threaten the Nation from them! Lord ſanctify theſe my Sufferings unto me! and tho' I fall a Sacrifice to Idols, ſuffer not Idolatry to be eſtabliſhed in the*

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the Land. Bless thy People, and save them: Defend thy own Cause; defend them that defend it: Stir up such as are faint, direct such as are willing, confirm such as waver, give Wisdom and Integrity to All: Order all things so as they may redound to thy Glory; and grant I may die glorifying thee for all thy Mercies, and for that thou hast at last permitted me to be singled out as a Witness of thy Truth, and even by the Confession of my Opposers, for The Old Cause, *for which thou hast so often and so wonderfully declared thy self.*

The Lord Mayor of *York* is summoned to answer before the Council several High Misdemeanours charged against him; and having appeared before the Council, he was obliged to give Bail to answer the Information that shall be exhibited against him by Mr. Attorney General. In *December* 1683, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, written with his own Hand.

SIR,

I Cannot think but you will easily call to Mind, how the King hath proceeded with the Duke of Monmouth, *having already seen all the Relations that were written and printed concerning him. I have only one thing to observe to you in the whole Transaction of that Business, which is this, that the King's Resolution in that Affair hath been owing to no Man's Counsel, but to his Majesty's own Firmness; and tho' his Tenderness was great for the Duke of* Monmouth, *yet he*

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ſuffered it not to prevail againſt that which he owed to his lawful Succeſſor, and to his dutiful Subjects. I am, Sir,

Your moſt Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

I received this following Letter from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*, bearing Date the 29th of *December*.

SIR,

THE Depredations of the French *in* Flanders *does generally affect us here, being no great Lovers of the* French, *and do not ſpeak very favourably of their Proceedings. The poor People of* Flanders *are much pitied, who ſuffer for the Imprudence of thoſe at the Helm. We wiſh the* Spaniards *may be perſwaded to put an End to the Miſeries of their Subjects, by eſtabliſhing a good and laſting Peace. Our Merchants (who have great Effects in* Spain) *are much alarmed, but we hope there is no Need. I can tell you no News, but that the Lord* Lanſborough, *formerly Sir* George Lane, *and the Earl of* Plymouth, *Governour of* Hull, *are lately dead, and that there is no Appearance of a Parliament, as ſome have imagined; for if his Majeſty intended one, the Time is near to give Orders for it.*

Upon the Prince of *Denmark*'s firſt Arrival in *England*, a Chapter was appointed for the chuſing him a Knight of the Garter; but the Prince

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Prince prayed it might be deferred, till he acquainted the King of *Denmark*, his Brother, therewith, and had his Leave to lay aſide the Order of the Elephant, which was judged very reaſonable: And the Prince having accordingly made his Compliments to the King of *Denmark* upon this Occaſion, and received Leave from him, a Chapter is appointed to be held forthwith, for the electing him into the moſt noble Order of the Garter. The Lord *Dartmouth* hath found more Difficulty in demoliſhing the Mole at *Tangier*, than was imagined; but it is now ſo near done, that his Lordſhip is expected very ſuddenly in *England*.

In *November* 1683, I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

HEREWITH *you will receive (I think, by Mr.* Puckle's *Hand) the King our Maſter's gracious Letter to the* Marquis de Grana, *with a Copy of it for your ſelf. It is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that you deliver it to the Marquis, and accompany it with a Memorial of your own, complaining of the ill Uſage his Majeſty's Subjects do receive at* Oſtend; *and to hint to his Excellency the ill Conſequences of ſuch Inſults, if ſuffered to go unpuniſhed, which would naturally end in Revenge, and Diſturbance of the Commerce and preſent good Friendſhip between both Crowns. The Letter is in Behalf of our* Eaſt India *Company, concerning a Ship (intending, or ſuppoſed to intend to be an Interloper within the Limits*

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Limits of their Charter.) Here is alſo annexed, a Copy of that Company's Petition to his Majeſty, with the State of the Caſe, gathered out of the Extract of ſeveral Letters from an Officer of the Engliſh *Admiralty now in* Flanders, *and, I doubt, in Cuſtody at* Oſtend. *Theſe Papers, with the Information Mr.* Puckle *will give you, may abſolve me from adding any thing more, but that you are deſired to do what you can in Vindication of his Majeſty's Honour, and in Support of our* East India *Company's juſt Rights; and that you endeavour to get good and ſufficient Caution, according to the laſt Clauſe in his Majeſty's ſaid Letter, that the ſaid Ship ſhall not undertake, nor purſue her Voyage to the* Indies. *I am, Sir,* &c.

L. JENKINS.

The Copy of the King's Letter to the *Marquis de Grana*, concerning the *Eaſt India* Company here follows, which the ſaid Reſident preſented.

Mon Couſin,

LA Compagnie des Marchands Anglois, *traffiquant aux* Indes Orientales, *m'ont tres humblement repreſenté, que le nommé* Richard Sherwood *Commandant de navire* Richard & Jean, *a equippé ſon dit navire pour un Voyage aux dites* Indes, *avec deſſein d'y traffiquer avec les Infidels contre les loix de ce Pais cy, & contre pluſieurs des mes Edits, publiez en faveur de la dit Compagnie & d'autres: Sur quoy*

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ma Cour de l'Amirauté avoit ordonné qu'on miſt en Arreſt le dit navire, ce qui auroit eſté deüement executé. Si ce n'eut eſté que le dit Maiſtre en ayant eu advis, s'eſt derobé de mon Port de Douvre, *& s'eſt retiré en celuy d'*Oſtende, *juſques ou un Officier de madit Cour de l'Amirauté l'ayant purſuiry, y, a fait arreſter le dit navire, par la juſtice ordinaire du liëu. Sur quoy le dit Maiſtre y a fait arreſter & mettre en priſon le dit Officier de ma Cour de l'Amirauté nommé* George Wade, *pour s'eſtre acquitté de ſon devoir, & de ſa commiſſion, le dit Maiſtre ayant auſſi pour mieux couvrir ſa fraude, changé ſon nom, & celuy du dit navire, ſe faiſant appeller luy meſme* Wood, *& ſon navire le* Speedwell. *Les particularitez de ſon procede, & de ſes excés, vous ſeront repreſentez par mon Reſident aprez vous, lequel Je vous prie d'écouter favourablement, & de faire en ſorte que le dit Maiſtre donne caution de s'en retourner dans quelq'un de de mes Ports, afin de ſe ſoûmettre à ce que la juſtice ordonnera de faire en cette occaſion, ou bien pour le moins que le dit Maiſtre & ſes affretteurs, avant le depart du dit Maiſtre avec ſon navire de vos Ports, ſoient obligez de donner caution ſuffiſante en ce Pais la à mon Reſident, ou à d'autres qui en auront Procuration de mon dit Reſident, de n'enterprendre ny pourſuivre le dit Voyage deſtiné pour les dites* Indes. *Je fineray cette cy en vous aſſeurant que Je ſuis, Mon Couſin,*

Au Whitehall, *le* 16 *de* Nov. 1683. *Vôtre Affectionné Couſin,* CHARLES *R.*

At

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At the ſame time I preſented a Memorial to the *Marquis de Grana*, in theſe Words.

LE ſouſigné Chevalier Bulſtrode, *Reſident pour ſa Majeſté de la* Grande Brittaigne, *repreſenté tres humblement à Vôtre Excellence par Ordre du Roy ſon Maiſtre, que le nommé* Richard Sherwood, *Sujet de ſa Majeſté, commandant le navire* Richard & Jean, *a equippé ſon dit navire pour un Voyage aux* Indes Orientales, *avec deſſein d'y traffiquer avec les Infideles, contre les loix d'*Angleterre, *& contre pluſieurs Placarts de ſa Majeſté: Sur quoy, la ſupreme Cour d'Amirauté d'*Angleterre *avoit envoyé un Officier pour mettre en Arreſte le dit navire. Mais le dit Maiſtre ayant eu advis, s'eſt derobé du Port de* Douvre, *& s'eſt retiré en celuy d'*Oſtende, *juſques ou le dit Officier ayant pourſuiry y a fait arreſter le dit navire. Sur quoy, le dit Maiſtre y a fait arreſter & mettre en priſon pour s'eſtre acquitté de ſon devoir & de ſa commiſſion. Le dit Maiſtre ayant auſſi, pour mieux couvrir ſa fraude, changé ſon nom & celuy du dit navire: A cette raiſon le dit Reſident ſupplié treshumblement Vôtre Excellence, d'ordonner que le dit Officier ſera relaché, & que le dit Maiſtre ne ſoit permis de partir hors le Port d'*Oſtende, *avec ſon dit navire, ſans donner bonne Caution au dit Reſident de s'en retourner en* Angleterre, *afin de ſe ſoûmettre a ce que la juſtice luy ordonnera, ou bien pour le moins que le dit Maiſtre donner Caution ſuffiſante*

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ſante au dit Reſident de n'enterprendre ny purſuivre ſon Voyage deſtiné pour les dites Indes, *ſelon le Deſir du Roy ſon Maiſtre par ſa Lettre à Vôtre Excellence.*

Fait a Bruxelles, *le 7 de* Decem. 1682. R. BULSTRODE.

Some ſmall Time before this Memorial was delivered, I received this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins.*

SIR,

THE Letter you ſent me by Mr. Puckle, *and thoſe ſince by the* Ordinary, *have been carefully read before his Majeſty in Council. I now ſend you a Copy of the laſt Memorial the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador gave his Majeſty. I could not ſend it ſooner, becauſe it had not been communicated to the Lords. I was directed by the King to give Anſwer to it by Word of Mouth, to* Don Pedro, *but ſtrictly commanded not to give it in Writing, or to dictate it, that he might take a Copy, which I did punctually obſerve; which gave him great Diſtaſte. I ſend you the Words as near as I can, but with this ſtrict Injunction from the King, that you do not communicate them to any Perſon; for then that which we refuſed them will come to them another Way. The Anſwer is communicated to you, for your own Government, when the Miniſters there ſhall diſcourſe to you at the rate of* Don Pedro's *Memorial, without letting them know that you know the*

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the Words wherein I answered him. That which you propose concerning an Allowance for Expresses, is hardly practicable, the constant ancient Way being to put it upon your Extraordinaries: But in regard they are in so great Arrears to you, I will take upon me to pay any Express you shall send, knowing you will only send them when it is needful. I am ever

Your most Faithful Humble Servant,
L. JENKINS.

In the Beginning of the Year following, the Court of King's Bench gave Judgment in the great Case of the *East India* Company, and were unanimously of Opinion, that Judgment ought to be given for the Plaintiffs, which are the *East India* Company. Their Arguments were all resolved into these two Questions: First, Whether the Grant of a sole Trade to the Company, without Prohibition to all the rest of the King's Subjects not to trade to those Parts, be a good Grant? Secondly, Suppose the Grant be good, whether this Action be maintainable? And the whole Court held in the Affirmative to both: And, that in the First Point, as well the prohibitory as the enabling Part, were consistent both with the Laws of the Land, and the Law of Nations: Which the Lord Chief Justice made out with much painful Learning, by citing many Authorities and Precedents out of the Parliament Rolls and foreign Books, whereby he proved that *Jus Gentium* must be the Judge of foreign Trade, by

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by which it was at firſt eſtabliſhed, as it is regulated in all other Nations. As to the Objection, that this excluding Grant was a Monopoly, he diſtinguiſhed upon the Word, proving out of ſeveral Books of the Civil Law, that Monopolies are of two Sorts, either Lawful, as when the Prince grants to any College a ſole Trade excluſive of all other Perſons: Or Unlawful, according to the vulgar Acceptation of the Word; and that this Grant is of the former Sort, and not ſuch a Monopoly as the Law condemns. The Court held, That the Statute of *Edw.* III. pleaded by the Defendant, had Relation only to the Trade of the Staple, and could not be intended to controul this, which was not then in Being. Yet, ſuppoſing the Statute were powerful, and gave Licence to all Perſons to trade every where; yet the King having, by the common Law, a Power of reſtraining his Subjects from trading, and there being no expreſs Words in the Statute, to take away this Power, the Statute, as to that, is void, according to the Rule ſet down by my Lord *Cook*, that, without expreſs Words, no Prerogative ſhall be taken away. The Court ſaid further, That tho' the King had covenanted with the Company, to grant no Licences to any other Perſons of a concurrent Trade; yet the King hath not hereby concluded himſelf, but that he may, at his Pleaſure, licenſe any of his Subjects to trade to the Places mentioned in the Charter.

This

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This being a Matter of Curiosity, I give you this particular Account for your Satisfaction.

The 28th of *December* I had this following Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

I *Have received your double Letter, one of the Occurrences of the Field, and the other of a Discourse you had with the Governour. They were both read to his Majesty, first in private, then at a Committee of the Council. I have nothing in Command to answer upon them. I may only tell you, that your Discourses and Replies, in your Conversation with the Governour, were very well approved of. You will, I supose have heard, on this, some Complaints of Mr.* Chudleigh: *You may believe it morally impossible he should have had such Discourses to the Deputies of* Amsterdam, *as are endeavoured to be fastened upon him. It is the* Spanish *Ambassador,* Don Pedro, *that alone complains of him, and we do not hear one Syllable of this from Mr.* Cittars, *nor from* Monsieur le Compte de Thaun, *who would have been as loud as the* Spanish *Ambassador, in their Complaints, had they known of any unwarrantable Discourse of Mr.* Chudleigh's *in the Conferences he may have had with any Deputies or private Persons whatsoever. You know, that the King our Master hath of a long time (I am sure for above a Year) declared,* Qu'il ne se laisseroit pas entretenir par quelle fuit dans une Guerre estrangere: *Thus much Mr.* Chudleigh *might say upon any*

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any pertinent Occaſion, but more, I dare ſay, never fell from him. I ſhall not fail to comply with Mr. Puckle's *Demand, nor in any thing elſe, wherein I may, to approve my ſelf*

Your moſt Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

I had another Letter from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, of the 16th of *January*, 1683-4, which ſays, that Mr. *Corniſh*, who was an Alderman of *London* before their Privileges were ſeized into the King's Hands, was examined before the Lords of the Cabinet Council, he being named in the Letter taken in *Ellis*'s Pocket, amongſt thoſe to whom the Libel was to be diſtributed, and *Slingsby Bethell*, his worthy Collegue, when Sheriffs, was, amongſt others, fined One Thouſand Merks for the Riot by them committed in *Guild-Hall*, on Midſummer Day, 1682, and has ever ſince been a Priſoner, but has at laſt thought fit to pay his Fine, and is now at Liberty again. We have an Account from *Scotland*, that *Baillie*, a Gentleman of a good Eſtate, being ſent thither to be tryed, was found Guilty of High Treaſon, and executed: That the Earl of *Ferras* had been brought to his Tryal, for being in the late Conſpiracy, and was found Guilty likewiſe; but having confeſſed as well before, as at his Tryal, the whole Matter charged upon him, and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy,

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his Execution was ſtopped, till the King's Pleaſure was known therein.

The 25th of *February* 1684, I received this enſuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*.

SIR,

HIS *Majeſty hath received from Mr.* Van Cittars, *a Memorial of ſo great a Length, that I cannot hope to ſend it you, till the next Poſt. It is accompanied with five ſeveral Maps of ſeveral Parts of the* Spaniſh Netherlands. *It prays his Majeſty's Offices, in order to diſpoſe the moſt Chriſtian King to give up* Briſac, Friburg, *and the Fort of* Keil (*near* Straſburgh) *to the Empire, if he will keep* Straſburgh *to himſelf. Then, for the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *the Allies do offer (tho' without the Conſent of* Spain) *to divide the Country by an imaginary Line, to the End the* French *may poſſeſs all on the one Side of it, and the* Spaniards *all on the other; and it is to be noted, that not only moſt of the Dependencies in* Flanders, *that are controverted, are in the* Spaniſh *Side of the Line, but alſo all that the* French *do poſſeſs in* Luxenburgh, *even to the Walls of* Chiny *and* Verton, *which the* Spaniards *have long ſince relinquiſhed. His Majeſty is not come to any Reſolution upon this Memorial, having not yet received the Letters of his own Miniſter at the* Hague: *But thus far we ſee, that this is the Effect of the Conferences now held at the* Hague, *and this is intended to be the Anſwer to Mr.* d'Araux's *Offers of a Truce. When theſe things ripen,*

you

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you shall have a farther Account of them from,
Sir,

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

The 18th of *March* following, I received this ensuing from the same Hand.

SIR,

I Thank you heartily for yours, which came but this Day; but I would not have you be discouraged by this Accident of writing by the Way of Calais, *for we had not our Letters from* Paris *then: Nay, give me Leave to invite you to make use of this Conveyance, in an active, troublesome Time, as this Spring and Summer are like to be; and therefore you may send the Original one Way, and the Duplicate another. Sure I am, that you will omit no Conveniency, and so leave it to your self, and am ever,* &c.
L. JENKINS.

On Saturday *last Mr.* Van Cittars *gave a Memorial to his Majesty, seconding his last Memorial. My Lord* Sunderland, *by his Majesty's Command, gave him an Answer only by Word of Mouth, and to the same Effect with that Answer which his Lordship had given before in Writing to Mr.* Van Cittars's *Memorial formerly delivered upon the same Subject.*

Upon the 31st of *March*, I received this ensuing Letter from Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, dated at *Whitehall.*

 Digitized by Google *SIR,*

SIR,

IN your last, which was read yesterday before the King and Council, you are pleased to desire to know the King's Pleasure, whether you should go into the Campaign with that Governour. His Majesty resolved, that it was not necessary, because the Scene of the War in that Country being like to be of a very narrow Compass, and not far from the Place where you have always resided, which being the Capital of that Country, will still have the best Share in the Intelligence. One thing that concerns my self I shall take Leave to impart to you with a very sincere Joy: It is, That his Majesty hath, upon my most humble, and even importunate Suit, given me Leave, in regard of my ill Health, to resign my Post of Secretary, and hath bestowed it upon Mr. Godolphin, *in whose Correspondence, as far as it will take in your Deportment, you will, I am sure, be very happy. My great Concern is, that this being a pure Effect of my most humble Supplication, and even intolerable Importunity with his Majesty and the Duke, it may not be imputed to any Surprize upon me at Court, much less to my disliking of the present Measures there. This I say, because I know the Fanaticks will put the most malicious Constructions they can invent upon an Incident at Court: But, upon my honest Word, Sir, it is my utter Disability to serve, and that alone, which hath prevailed upon his Majesty's infinite Clemency and Goodness, to consent to my Dismission, with such*

Marks

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Marks of his Grace and Royal Bounty, as to me are unexpreſſible. This I thought it my Duty to impart to you, to prevent Miſinformation, and to let you know, at the ſame time, that I ſhall be glad, in what private Capacity ſoever I am, to approve my ſelf in Truth and Effect, Sir,

Your moſt Humble and moſt Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

I had the 4th of *April* following, this Letter from the ſame Hand, at *Whitehall.*

SIR,

I Have juſt Time to tell you, that I had the Honour, on Tueſday *Night, to produce your laſt Letter before his Majeſty and the Committee. You may be well aſſured, that I did not neglect humbly to inform my ſelf of his Majeſty's Pleaſure in Mr.* Hulft's *Buſineſs. His Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, That he had a good Character of Mr.* Hulft *a good while ſince; and that whenever he comes into* England, *whether with a publick Character, or in a private Capacity, his Majeſty will very graciouſly bid him welcome. I am, Sir,* &c.

L. JENKINS.

After this, in *April*, I received this enſuing Letter from the ſame Hand, dated at *Windſor*, the 14th of *April* 1684.

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SIR,

THis is the last Trouble I shall give you, as his Majesty's Secretary, but shall desire the Continuance of your Kindness as a Friend, for so I shall always be to you. The State of Mr. Boyan's *Case herewith sent you, and the Copy of his Majesty's Letter to the* Marquis de Grana *thereupon, may dispense with me for giving you any farther Instructions in this Matter. You will deliver his Majesty's Letter to the Marquis, and accompany it with such Memorials and Applications as you shall judge requisite, and may be most effectual, that Mr.* Boyan *may obtain his Right. I know your Diligence and Zeal, and therefore shall use no more Words, but again to assure you, that I am, Sir,*

Your most Humble and Faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

The Copy of the King's Letter to the Marquis.

Mon Cousin,

LE Sieur Richard Boyan, *Marchand de* Londres, *m'ayant representé qu'il a un Procez a anvers contre un nommé* Guilliam Vandevorst, *Marchand de cette Ville la, pour quelques Affaires mercantilles, mais que par les chicans dont le dit* Vandevorst, *& quelques siens Parens ont usé comme ayans Interest sur les lieux, & mon dit sujet etant estrangere, j'ay bien voulu ordonner à mon Resident a* Bruxelles

de

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de vous preſenter des Memoires convenables touchant la dit Affaire, ne doutant pas que Vous ne donnez tels Ordres la deſſus, que bonne & brieüe juſtice ſoit fait à mon dit ſujet. Je ſuis, Mon Couſin,

Vôtre Affectionné Couſin,
CHARLES R.

After Sir *Leoline Jenkins* had quitted his Station of being Principal Secretary of State, I had the following Letter from him, dated at *Hammerſmith*, the 12th of *May* 1684, which was the laſt Letter I had from him.

SIR,

I Have often pitied you very heartily, under the intolerable Pains you take, in writing ſo many Letters with your own Hand. I muſt now, in Conſcience, not only pray you, but in a manner require you, to eaſe your ſelf of writing any longer to me, and I ſhall reckon my Obligation no leſs than if you did this. His Majeſty allows me the Honour of Acceſs, as before, to the Committee of Foreign Affairs; ſo that as often as I go thither, I ſhall be ſure to meet with your Intelligence; and when my Health does not give me Leave to do ſo, my Friends are pleaſed to communicate unto me ſo much as ſerves my Turn. But if at any time your own Occaſions invite you to write to me, I pray do it very freely; for in thoſe Matters you may command me ſtill, as, Sir,

Your moſt Humble and Faithful Servant,
L. JENKINS.

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The 20th of *May* 1684, I had this following Letter from a very good Hand.

SIR,

I Am sure that the Spanish *Ambassador hath been spoken to, concerning the Treatment which they gave the Duke of* Monmouth *at* Brussels, *and has been given to understand the great Resentment the King hath of their Proceedings. Hereupon the* Spanish *Ambassador has taken an Occasion to speak to the King, assuring him, that the Civilities which were shewed him at* Brussels, *were purely in respect to his Majesty, as being his Son; of which I am told the King took hold, and hath caused a Letter to be written to the Ambassador, to let that Court know the little Satisfaction his Majesty hath in their treating the Duke of* Monmouth *as they have done; and yet the* Spanish *Ambassador continues his Instances, tho' he knows they cannot succeed to his Satisfaction. For he that asketh a Thing that cannot be granted, without the great Prejudice of him that is to grant it, cannot certainly think to obtain what he desires, and has not so much Cause to be dissatisfied, when refused, as he hath, of whom he desires a Thing to his Prejudice. I suppose it will be no News to tell you, that the* French *King hath given Assurances, that after the Taking of* Luxenburgh, *he will not attempt any thing farther in* Flanders. *The* Count d'Araux *hath declared thus much at the* Hague, *upon which*

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which it is not doubted but the States *will resolve to sit still, and let the* Spaniards *manage the War, as they will, if they will not comply with the* French *Proposals. We have no News from my Lord* Dartmouth *at* Tangier, *expecting that he is coming home, and will be speedily in* England. *The Duke of* Monmouth *is highly careſſed at the* Hague, *which would make me wonder what the Prince of* Orange *aims at by ſuch a Proceeding. The King was pleaſed to declare in the laſt Council at* Hampton-Court, *that he thought fit that his Royal Highneſs ſhould be preſent at the Meeting of the Council, and accordingly the Duke took his Place at the Board, as Firſt Prince of the Blood.*

I am told from a good Hand, that the King hath forbid all Correſpondence with the Prince of *Orange*, and hath declared to the Nobility, and others attending him, that they ſhould hold no Commerce with the Prince, who hath given the old *Hoffe*, where the Princeſs his Grandmother lived, at the *Hague*, to the Duke of *Monmouth*. We expect daily a publick Account of the Diſcovery lately made in *Scotland*, it being as plain as the Day, that the Conſpiracy was ſo laid between the Rebels here and in *Scotland*, as to make an Inſurrection in both Kingdoms at the ſame time; upon which many Gentlemen, whom they call Lairds, are committed to Priſon; it appearing that the Deſign of the Conſpiracy was to have ſurprized *Berwick*, and thereby have opened their Way to *Newcaſtle*.

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caſtle. By the Depoſition of one *Carſtairs*, who was taken in *England*, and ſent to *Scotland*, and by ſeveral others, the Correſpondence is made ſo plain between the Conſpirators here and in *Scotland*, that there is no farther Doubt made of it, it being ſufficiently made appear. But at the ſame time it is worthy Remark, that all their Credit in *Scotland* could not raiſe Thirty Thouſand Pounds to carry on their Plot. I am told from a good Hand, that *Danvers* who is now in the *Gazette*, was the Author of that damnable Libel about the Earl of *Eſſex*, being a Parcel of Lies and Forgeries maliciouſly put together, to perſwade the Whiggs and the Ignorant, that the then Earl of *Eſſex* was murdered by Order from the Government, when it was apparent that he cut his own Throat. Circular Letters have been written by the King's Commands, to all the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties of this Kingdom, to this Effect: That the King being informed Reports were ſpread abroad in the Country, that his Majeſty intended to call a Parliament, and that many Gentlemen have thereupon begun to make Intereſts to be choſen, his Majeſty had thought fit to let them know, that he has not at preſent any Intention to call a Parliament; and when he ſhall find it neceſſary for his Service and the publick Good, to call one, he will cauſe timely Notice to be given thereof; and in the mean time, commands them to take Care to ſuppreſs all ſuch falſe Reports, and to puniſh the Authors of them. And his Majeſty being informed, that Endeavours have been

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been uſed to promote a tumultuary Petition for the Sitting of Parliament, his Majeſty commands them to cruſh ſuch ſeditious Practices, tending to the great Diſturbance of the Government and the publick Peace, and to enquire for the Authors and Promoters of them.

There are in *London* about Sixty Companies, of which Fourty and more have already ſurrendered their Charters to his Majeſty, who hath been pleaſed to grant them new ones, with ſuch Alterations and Limitations as the King thinks neceſſary for his Service; and thoſe Companies which do yet ſtand out, will be proceeded againſt in another Way.

I am told from a very good Hand at *Whitehall*, by Letter of the 13th of *June* 1684, That the Duke's Counſel let Mr. *Oates* in the *King's Bench* Priſon know, that there was a Declaration filed againſt him on the Part of the Duke, for falſe and ſcandalous Words, and that if he pleaded not, Judgment ſhould be entered againſt him by Default. He replied, according to his inſolent Manner, That, as he had never loved the Duke, ſo he did not fear him, and that he would anſwer the Declaration when he thought fit; and that, for the entering Judgment by Default, he could not, for he would ſtay in Priſon, till there was a Parliament, and then he ſhould come out, and others would be in his Place. Upon this, the Duke's Counſel moved at the King's Bench Bar, That if *Oates* ſuffered Judgment to be entered by Default, in this Action of the Duke, the Court

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Court would then grant a Writ of Enquiry of Damages to be executed at the Bar. The Aim of the Duke's Counsel in desiring this, is, that the Matter they charge *Oates* with may be laid open to the World, by having the Witnesses examined in open Court.

The Yacht that brought over Sir *Thomas Armstrong* being arrived at *Greenwich*, he was brought on Shore by Captain *Richardson*, the Keeper of *Newgate*, who put Shackles upon him, and brought him to *Whitehall*, where he hath been examined by a Committee of Lords, but would confess nothing. It seems Mr. *Chudleigh* having Notice, that Seven or Eight *Englishmen* were come to *Rotterdam*, he sent his Secretary, who discovered them at *Delft*, and followed them to *Leyden*; and having lodged them there, he applied himself to the Scout, in Pursuance of an Order Mr. *Chudleigh* had obtained some time before of the States; and having the Scout's Assistance, he went to the House where they were, and seized *Armstrong* without any Opposition. The others with him were not meddled with, for that they were not mentioned in the Order of the States. *Armstrong* was carried to Mr. *Chudleigh*'s House at the *Hague*, and from thence on board the Yacht at *Rotterdam*. Since his coming to *London*, he hath been brought to the King's Bench, where Execution was prayed against him: But he pleaded a Statute of *Edward* VI. which says, if a Person outlawed yield himself within a Year and Day, he shall be admitted to a Tryal: But

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But he was anſwered, he did not yield himſelf, but was brought in by Force, and ſo could not claim the Benefit of that Statute. He replied, the King had allowed *Holloway* (who was likewiſe outlawed) the Liberty to reverſe the Outlawry, and to ſtand a Tryal, and hoped he ſhould not be denied it. He was anſwered by the Judges, that was the King's particular Grace and Mercy, of which they were not the Diſpenſers; and that there remained nothing for them to do, but to order his Execution, which they did accordingly. He did not ſeem inclined to make any Confeſſion, nor to have the Senſe that a Man ought to have that had Guilt upon him. After this, a Motion was made on his Behalf, in the Court of Chancery, for a Writ of Error to reverſe the Outlawry: But my Lord Keeper anſwered, he could not grant it without Mr. Attorney's Conſent, who ſaid he had no Directions to conſent to it. One would think Sir *Thomas* ought not to expect any Mercy or Favour from the King, to whom he hath been ſo ungrateful. But I muſt not forget to tell you, that when he was taken, he dropt ſome Papers into a Houſe of Office, but they were found, and amongſt them were Letters from the Duke of *Monmouth* to the Sieur *Dien*, the *Brandenburgh* Miniſter at the *Hague*, and another to one of the States, recommending Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* to them in the moſt preſſing Manner imaginable. He was executed at *Tyburn*, drawn thither from *Newgate* upon a Sledge. He ſaluted ſeveral People as he went,

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went. He had Dr. *Tenniſon* to pray with him, and died with much Courage and Reſolution. His Head will be put up over the *Gate-houſe* at *Weſtminſter*, and his Quarters will be diſpoſed of in like manner. One of his Quarters will be ſent to *Stafford*, for which Place he was a Burgeſs in Parliament. By his Paper which he gave the Sheriff, he juſtifies his Innocency, and complains that he had not a Tryal.

After Sir *Thomas*'s Execution, the Paper he gave the Sheriffs was firſt brought to the King, and his Majeſty gave it again to the Sheriffs, with Liberty to publiſh it. In it he diſowns to know of any Plot againſt the King's Perſon and Government, and aſſerts his Innocency to thoſe Matters. He juſtified himſelf of what was reported of him, of betraying the King in *Cromwell*'s Time. He declared, he died a Member of the Church of *England*, but confeſſed he had not lived according to her Rules and Doctrines. He ſaid, he died juſtly for the many Sins he had committed in his Life-time, and deſired thoſe he had injured to forgive him, as he forgave every Body.

About this time was *Oates*'s Tryal with the Duke, where no leſs than Ten Witneſſes ſwore, That *Oates* had ſaid, his Royal Highneſs was *a Traitor, a Raſcal, a Devil, the Son of a Whore*, with other Words not fit to be named, were it not to ſhew the audacious Inſolence of *Oates*, who may poſſibly e'er long be called to an Account for many other things. Mr. *Williams*,

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liams, late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, had a Declaration filed againſt him, for having cauſed ſeveral Papers, called Votes and Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons, to be printed and publiſhed, wherein were many ſcandalous Reflections upon his Majeſty and his Government; of which the ſaid Mr. *Williams* having Notice, he did not appear in *Weſtminſter-hall* the laſt Day of the Term, which he never miſſed before.

I was told from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, by Letters of the 30th of *June* 1684, That the Lord Treaſurer of *Scotland*, with ſeveral other Lords of that Kingdom, were come to the *Engliſh* Court, to complain againſt the Chancellor of *Scotland*: That the King and Duke had heard their Complaints, which they found ſo well grounded, that the Great Seal was taken from the Chancellor, whoſe Name is Sir *George Gordon*, and the Earl of *Perth* was conſtituted Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Place he had of Juſtice General was given to the Earl of *Linlithgow*, Collonel of the Guards, and the ſaid Regiment of Guards was given to Collonel *Douglas*, Brother to the Lord Treaſurer, the Marqueſs of *Queensborough*, who has at preſent a *Scotch* Regiment in Service of the States General; and Matters being thus ſettled, the Lords are returning home again very well ſatisfied.

I am told by a good Hand from *Whitehall*, That Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* being returning for *Holland*, is charged with a Meſſage from the King

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King to the Prince of *Orange:* That the King conſidering the ill Circumſtances that Prince had put himſelf into, the King had writ lately to the Prince, to aſſure him of his Kindneſs, and that he would do all he could to ſupport him. To which the Perſon that writes tells me, that the Prince of *Orange* returned a very cold and indifferent Anſwer; and which is much wondered at, that the Prince ſhould ſhew ſuch Kindneſs to the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Brandon*, which neither the King nor Duke can take well from the Prince. I am told from the ſame Hand, That the King had taken Notice to the Envoy of *Brandenburgh*, of the great Reſpect and Kindneſs which is ſhewed to the Duke of *Monmouth* at *Berlin*; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay, he did not think the Elector would have given that Countenance to one that was in his Diſfavour. But the Miniſter, to excuſe the Elector, ſaid his Electoral Highneſs, in the Reſpect he had ſhewed to the Duke of *Monmouth*, did it as to his Majeſty's Son, and not to him as Duke of *Monmouth*; who is ſo highly careſſed at the *Hague*, that it is thought the Prince will make him General of all the *Engliſh* Forces, and of all other his Majeſty's Subjects that are in the States Service; with which his Majeſty is ſo highly diſſatisfied, that, perhaps, at Mr. *Chudleigh*'s Return to the *Hague*, his Majeſty's Reſentment may appear more publick.

I am told, there hath lately happened a very unlucky Accident at *Norwich*, betwixt Mr.

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Mr. *Bedingfield* and Mr. *Barney*, the first a Man of a very good Estate, and the other an ancient Baronet; and some Words having passed between them at a Gentleman's House, *Barney* came behind *Bedingfield*, and stabbed him in the Back, of which he died presently. The Sessions being then there, he was tryed, convicted, and condemned, and was executed at the Market Cross, the Fact being so foul, that all Sollicitations for his Life were ineffectual. I am told from *Whitehall*, that the King had named Mr. *Brisbane*, late Secretary of the Admiralty, to go in Quality of his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *Portugal*, in the Room of Mr. *Fanshaw*, who was recalled; but Mr. *Brisbane* falling sick at *Windsor*, is since dead.

By Letters of the 25th of *August*, 1684, I am told, that the King had thought fit to remove the Earl of *Radnor* from the Presidentship of the Council, his Majesty's Pleasure being therein signified to his Lordship by a Letter from the Secretary of State, with an Assurance of the King's entire Satisfaction in his Services, and that his Majesty, as a Mark of it, would continue to him his Pension which he had as Lord President. The Lord *Radnor*'s Answer was full of Duty and Submission to the King; who was so well pleased with it, that he ordered the Lords of the Treasury to take particular Care of the Payment of the said Pension: And his Majesty caused the Earl of *Rochester* to be sworn Lord Presi-

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dent of the Council; and also acquainted the Lords, that his Intention was, that Mr. *Godolphin* should be made an *English* Baron, by the Name of Baron *Godolphin* of *Godolphin*, and succeed the Lord *Rochester* in the Place of First Commissioner of the Treasury: That the Earl of *Middleton*, late one of the Secretaries of State of *Scotland*, should succeed Mr. *Godolphin* in that of Secretary of State of *England*, who was sworn accordingly; and that the King had given the Earl of *Rochester* Sixteen Thousand Pounds, to be raised out of the Lord *Grey*'s Estate: Which Changes were made by the King to the Satisfaction of all Parties concerned.

I was told from a good Hand at *Whitehall*, that the Duke of *Grafton* was gone incognito into *Holland*, and would from thence go to *Brussels*, to meet with his Brother the Duke of *Northumberland*, and then return together, after having seen the Governour of *Flanders*, and spoken with the Resident at *Brussels*, which they both did, but could not perform what they intended. The same Person told me, that the Discovery made in *Scotland*, by the decyphering of *Argyle*'s Letters, which were owned by his Secretary, are of great Importance; which make the late horrid Conspiracy so evident, that none can doubt of it. It seems this Secretary was Prisoner in *Scotland*, and was charged with a Letter from *Argyle*, which was found about him when he was taken, and a Person at *Edinburgh* did decypher it. The Secretary at first denied it; but after having several

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veral times endured the Torture called the *Boot*, he had at last owned the Letter to be truly decyphered, and confessed several Particulars, which make the Conspiracy as plain as Noon-Day. Upon this Discovery, the Laird of *Monroe* and several others are apprehended in *Scotland*; and *Monroe* being threatened with the Torture, hath confessed all, and hath confirmed what was evidenced by others, designing to make an Insurrection in *Scotland* at the same time it was to be in *England*. *Monroe* is bringing up to *London*, having made a very large Confession. He hath attempted, with the Horror of his Guilt, to destroy himself, and therefore is looked after more closely. After this *Monroe*'s Arrival, *Argyle*'s Letters, and the Confession of his Secretary and others, will be made publick, to convince World of the hellish Designs of the Conspirators against the King and Government: Tho' one would think there should be none that needs be convinced, after the plain Proofs that have already been given of them. It appears, that the Design of the Conspirators was to have surprized *Berwick*, and thereby to have opened their Way to *Newcastle*, where the Plot hath been also discovered: For the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffries* being upon the Bench, Information was given him, that several considerable Persons of that Town had signed an Association for reforming the Abuses of the Government in Church and State: That the Original of this Association was burnt, upon Discovery of the Plot against

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the King and Duke; But a Copy was produced to the Lord Chief Juſtice, and one that ſigned the Original, ſwore it to be a true Copy: Upon which Sixteen or Seventeen principal Perſons of that Place were apprehended and committed to Priſon for High Treaſon, before the Aſſizes were there ended; and ſince the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffries*'s Return, he hath given an Account thereof to the King: As alſo, that many Corporations in his Circuit had ſubmitted their Charters to ſuch Alterations as his Majeſty hath thought neceſſary for ſecuring the Government in good and loyal Hands. The City of *York* as well as *London*, is now governed by Commiſſion, their Charter being ſeized into the King's Hands, who out of his natural Goodneſs will grant them new Charters. A *Quo Warranto* being ſent down againſt the Charter of the City of *Exeter*, they immediately reſolved to lay their Charter at the King's Feet, and to make ſuch a Reſignation thereof as his Majeſty ſhall think fit: By which may be ſeen the general Duty of his Majeſty's Subjects to his Royal Authority. A great Change in few Months! which next to the good Providence of God, is to be attributed to his Majeſty's great Prudence and Conduct.

The Lord Chief Juſtice *Jeffries* being returned from his Circuit, is gone to *Wincheſter*, to lay at his Majeſty's Feet ſeveral Charters that were ſurrendered to him in his Circuit, where moſt Corporations have ſubmitted to his Majeſty's good Pleaſure therein. Their Majeſties

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jesties are returned from *Wincheſter*, and their Royal Highneſſes, with the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark* the Day before; the King and Duke, ſince the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy, never travelling the ſame Day together.

This Week Mr. *Roſewell*, a Nonconformiſt Preacher, was committed to *Newgate*, having uttered treaſonable Words, as he was holding forth in a Conventicle. He will not be tryed at the *Old Baily*, but at the King's Bench Bar, the next Term. The Words he is charged with are very ſeditious and treaſonable, and as well againſt the late King as the preſent Government, and are proved by ſo many Witneſſes, that he is like to paſs his Time very ill.

I muſt not forget to tell, that upon Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*'s laying down, with the King's Leave, his being Principal Secretary of State, I was then put into the Province of the Earl of *Sunderland*, who wrote me this following Letter, dated the 25th of *Auguſt*, 1684, at *Windſor*.

SIR,

HIS Majeſty was yeſterday pleaſed to declare in Council, That he had given the Earl of Radnor, *Lord Preſident of the Council, Leave to retire, in Conſideration of his great Age: That he was ſo well ſatisfied with his Services, that he intended to continue his Penſion to him as Lord Preſident; and that he was reſolved to make the Earl of* Rocheſter *Lord Preſident of the Council, and to put Mr. Secretary*

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Godolphin *at the Head of the Treasury, as first Commissioner, and to make the Earl of* Middleton, *who was Secretary of State in* Scotland, *to be Secretary of State in* England, *who was sworn accordingly. His Majesty did also declare, That he did not make these Alterations out of any Dissatisfaction, he being perfectly well pleased with the good Services they had done him in their respective Stations: And his Majesty does direct me to tell you, that he does not hereby intend to make the least Change in the Method of his Affairs, or the Measures he hath taken, which have hitherto had all the Success that he could propose. I have yours constantly; the last are of the 25th and 19th Instant.*

I am, Sir, Your Humble Servant,
SUNDERLAND.

About this time the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England, Don Pedro de Ronquillos*, took an Occasion to speak with the King my Master in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Behalf, by Order from the *Marquis de Grana*, then Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which produced a Letter from the King to the Marquis, which was sent to me to deliver; wherein his Majesty let the Marquis know, how much he was dissatisfied with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Comportment, which I represented to his Excellency in the best Terms I could: But the *Marquis de Grana* told me, he knew from whence the King's Displeasure came, and that it was the Duke of *York* who was the great Enemy of the Duke

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of *Monmouth*, whom the King loved as he did his Eyes, and endeavoured to perswade me to shew the Duke of *Monmouth* great Civilities. I told his Excellency, that I was absolutely to obey my Master, who had commanded me not to own him, and at the same time had spoken to *Don Pedro* to represent to the King of *Spain* his Master, in what ill Circumstances the Duke of *Monmouth* stood with the King his Father.

It was a strange Ingratitude in the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was in quiet Possession of all Places of Trust, Profit, or Honour, which could make him either happy or serviceable for the Government, or grateful to the People, to be engaged in a Conspiracy which was against Religion, Morality, and the common Sense of Humanity, and the highest Ingratitude to the King his Father, and even to Heaven it self. Certainly this counterfeit *Absalom* took a Glory to exceed in Wickedness, that no Man should be so infamous as himself; who with the Gracefulness of his Person, with his Popularity and other sinister and base Artifices, had strangely insinuated himself amongst the worst of Men, the common People; and before the Conspiracy broke out, he made some Voyages into the Country, and addressed himself to the Populace, like another *Absalom*, which went to his Royal Father's Heart. His rebellious Son *Absalom!* who was no sooner gone from his Father's Presence, but he endeavoured to steal away the Hearts of his People, and alienate the Affections of his Subjects from

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their Obedience. His ambitious Son! whom no Preferments could content: His ungrateful Son! with his artificial Submiſſion at his Father's Feet; but was no ſooner gone from his Preſence, but denied all he had confeſſed: And yet his royal and indulgent Father was willing to forget and forgive all his Faults, if he would but confeſs and acknowledge what he had done. But, *Benefacere, & malum audire, regium eſt.* It is too often the ill Fortune of Kings to be ill ſpoken of, when they do beſt for their Subjects Good. For after our blood-thirſty *Engliſh* Rebels had murdered their late King, and brought the Nation to great Confuſion, which continued for ſome Years, when God was miraculouſly pleaſed to reſtore them to their ancient Government, by ſending them their own King: Yet were the People ſo ungrateful, that in place of praiſing God for ſo great a Benefit, like the ancient *Jews*, they complained and murmured at that very Time when God was leading them into the Land of Promiſe, into Peace and Plenty; they wiſhed themſelves back in *Egypt*, whining after their Leeks and Onions, and deſiring their former Slavery: Even ſo at this time, Conventicles, by their leering Whines, and their melting Complaints, inſinuated the ſad Times that were coming, even the Coffee-houſes croaked with the Noiſe of it, and there came out every Day ſome compleat Artifice in Print, ſuch as the *Popiſh Counſellour Julian.* Now, when People's Heads are once actuated with ſuch Hurricanes of Jealouſies and Fears,

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Fears, and that their Religion, Properties, and Liberties are pulling down, what can ſtop their Rage from attempting or believing any thing that is moſt unreaſonable and contradictory to the Senſe of their own Good? The People at this time were ſoon overperſwaded to entertain Fears of the Loſs of that Liberty, of which no Nation under Heaven was more ſecure; and yet Men were ſo befooled, to undertake that which would certainly bring them to Tyranny and Slavery. And from hence this King *Charles* II. felt the Rage of that rebellious Faction in the Houſe of Commons, which endeavoured to make his Majeſty cheap abroad, and contemptible at Home, by arraigning the Juſtice of his Government, and exciting a Hatred of the King's Perſon, and did infeſt the Nation with Swarms of peſtilent Libels, which like Locuſts overſpread the Land, poiſoned the Minds of the People, and drowned all the little Remains of Duty, Allegiance, Civility, and common Honeſty, offering to remove from the King the very Guards of his royal Perſon, by precluding the Advantage he might take of his own Revenues, by their unwarrantable and unreaſonable Votes, which expoſed his Majeſty to all Dangers that might happen, by endeavouring to deprive him of the Poſſibility of ſupporting the Government, by running down the King and all his loyal Subjects to the late woful, or worſer Evils and Events, to which the rebellious Senate of 1641 had brought the Nation.

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Now when such a Number of discontented People are assembled, pretending their Religion is in Danger, this does influence them to the highest Resolution of acting, be the Attempts never so hazardous; and we may very well remember, that Religion, Liberty and Property, were lost and gone, when Monarchy by the Long Parliament was taken away, and could never be revived, till Monarchy was most happily restored; and if this Conspiracy had succeeded, we had been worse than ever. About this time we heard every Day new Stories of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government, with many scurrilous Reflections upon the King; and if any Man durst shew his Fidelity to the Monarchy, by opposing their Antimonarchical Principles, he was presently blasted with the Name of a Court or a Church Papist. How unwarrantable were the Proceedings and seditious Votes of the House of Commons, and their pragmatical interneddling with the Succession; a Thing too sacred to be touched by their unhallowed Hands; it being the Belief of all good, as well as learned Men, that no Power under Heaven can hinder the Descent of the Crown upon the next Heir of the Blood, which is his unalterable Right by Religion, Law, History and Reason: Yet the House of Commons resolved against it, and would not be undeceived by undeniable Arguments: Nay, they voted, they would make his Majesty a Glorious King, with a better Revenue than any of his Predecessors, by taking away all his kingly

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kingly Power, so that he should not be able to support his Friends, or suppress his Enemies. Nay, they voted, That whosoever should lend the King any Money upon the several Branches of his Revenue, should answer it in Parliament; whereby they not only took away all Hopes of necessary Supplies, but tied the Hands of the King's faithful Subjects, and would have reduced him to a more helpless Condition than the meanest of his Subjects: And they assumed a Power to themselves of suspending Acts of Parliament, by resolving, that the Prosecution of Dissenters upon the Penal Laws, was grievous to the Subject, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom; and nothing would serve these ill-natured Gentlemen, but a total Exclusion of his Royal Highness's succeeding to the Crown, to which the King had often and positively told them, he could neither in Honour, Conscience, or Justice consent; and yet, instead of advancing his Majesty's Honour and Greatness, they persisted resolute in what they demanded. When the King saw they went so fast, he thought it high Time to prorogue them, which he did several times, in hopes of their agreeing at last; but they were still so unhappy as not to agree, which rendered the Friendship of *England* unsafe to trust to, and which made our warlike wary Neighbours take other Resolutions, whereby we gratified our Enemies, and discouraged our Friends by our unseasonable Disputes. And indeed the Calling of Parliaments does sometimes great Hurt, when more

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Men are called together, than can be united in Affections and Intereſts, and they rather break into Factions, than join in publick Intereſt; from whence have riſen thoſe dangerous Factions which ruined the Peace and Happineſs of our Nation.

Sovereign Princes, as ours in *England*, have ever been God's Vicegerents upon Earth, deriving their Power and Authority from him alone who hath delegated Part of his own Power to Kings, and ſtampt his own Character upon them; and therefore we are never to ſpeak rudely to them, nor deſign any Evil againſt them: And the primitive Fathers often acknowledged the Heathen Emperors to be conſtituted by God, and to hold their Empire from him only, and to have God only above them: And therefore, in the early Ages of the Church, the Doctrine of Queſtioning the ſupreme Magiſtrate was unknown, and there was no ſuch thing as Rebellion in the firſt Centuries of the Church; and whatſoever the Forms of Government were, which differ according to the Cuſtoms of their Country, yet the Power and Authority it ſelf is derived from God, and never received of the People in Truſt; nor is the ſovereign Power anſwerable to the People for the Adminiſtration of it. But when Men preſume to think, that the King is the People's Creature, deriving his Power and Truſt from them, they will implead the King's Authority, as a conditional and precarious Thing, and upon the leaſt Diſtruſt, will meditate a Revocation

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of their Truſt; ſo that whatſoever is done, the King muſt anſwer for it. So apt are reſty Men to clamour againſt their own Happineſs, and to promote the Steps of their own Ruine. *Solomon*, who was a great and a wiſe King, had ſome Hundreds of ſtrange Wives, contrary to the Law of *Moſes*, and by reaſon of them, he fell to Idolatry; yet neither Prieſt nor People took up Arms againſt him, but left it to God, who is the proper Judge of Kings, who, in the Time appointed by his divine Providence, raiſed up *Jeroboam* to chaſtiſe him in his Son.

I know, *Calvin* ſays, That the Magiſtrates, or any Part of the Realm, may reſiſt the King, being an Idolater, as *Jehu* revolted from *Joram*, when he forſook God. Nay, he ſays farther, the Government of the Kingdom is not given to the King alone; and that there is a Stipulation in all hereditary Kingdoms: As in *France*, when the King is crowned, the Biſhops of *Bauvais* and *Lyons* aſk the People, if they deſire and command this Man to be King. But ſurely *Calvin* forgot that he was born at *Noyon* in *Picardy*, and that this is no Argument that they choſe him to be King, much leſs that they make him ſuch: For this is an Acceptation only, and not an Election; a Declaration of their willing Subjection, and nothing elſe; the Kingdom was confeſſed before to be hereditary, and the Succeſſion was determined by Law. The Kings of *England* and *France* count the Time of their Reign from their Entrance to the Crown. And was not *Henry* VII. ſeveral Years before he was crowned?

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The Peers are *Pares inter Se*, but not Companions to the King. In *England* all the Power and Authority depends upon the King, and the State is nothing but the Authority of the King, who is the Fountain whence ſprings all Authority and Nobility. He ſummons the great Council the Parliament, and diſſolves them when he pleaſes: And he that would reſtrain Sovereignty within any narrower Bounds, or communicate it to others, makes no Difference between the Crown of a King, and the Bonnet of a Duke of *Venice*. I know, *Buchanan* ſays, Princes may be depoſed by the People, if they be Enemies to God and his Truth; and that their Subjects are freed from their Oaths and their Obedience, and that the People are above the King, and of greater Authority than he. The Caſe of the idolatrous *Iſraelites* was plain, the People acted nothing but by the Command of *Moſes*, who was ſupreme Magiſtrate, neither did he command any thing to be done, but from the Mouth of God, according to the expreſs Law, *Deuteronomy* 13.

This is not to put the Sword into the People's Hands, and to permit them to execute their fiery Zeal upon whom they pleaſe, under Pretence of rooting out Superſtition, eſpecially ſuch as no Man judges ſo but themſelves. Perſecution in Matters of Religion is not the beſt Way to advance Religion, which is the Judgment of wiſe and learned Men, even of Proteſtants, and better than any can be ſhewed for the contrary. *Oſiander* ſays, That God doth not

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not allow, that Hereticks should be punished with Death, and forbids Magistrates to execute any such Authority: And *Calvin* was of the same Opinion, till he was settled in Power at *Geneva*. For before, he was much for Liberty of Conscience; and of the same Judgment was *Melancton* and many other learned Protestants, as, *Cassander*, *Grotius*, and many other of the middle Temper. The Cantons of *Switzerland* agree well in temperate things; and does not the famous Kingdom of *Poland* tolerate Diversity of Religions? and the great Emperor of *Muscovy* does the same. What Reason can be given by indifferent Men, why the Policy of *England* should be so singular, and so differing from that of all other Christian Kingdoms and Nations about her? Why should the *English* Government be more severe in this Point, than that of our Neighbours? It may seem something to reflect upon the Honour of our Nation, to mention the *Turk* in this Case; yet certainly it cannot be denied, but that Christians live quietly in the *Turk*'s Dominions, and upon Conditions so easy, that the Catholicks in *England* would be well contented with the like, who by the Grace of God have, and would demean themselves as loyally in all Points, as not to attempt any thing offensive to the State, or prejudicial to the publick Peace. There is nothing in the Catholick Religion inconsistent with Loyalty; and Catholicks are in Truth better Subjects than Protestants have shewed themselves to be, generally speaking, considering

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ring their Principles. Can any Man deny, but that there was a moſt horrid Rebellion carried on by Proteſtants in *England?* And the Catholicks hope, that having always wiſhed well to his Majeſty's Title, and prayed for his happy Succeſſion to his Kingdoms, that their ſo long tried Fidelity will at laſt procure them ſome Liberty and Refreſhment. I know, *Calvin* ſays, they are out of their Wits who deſire to live under Sovereign Monarchies; and ſays, Order and Policy muſt needs decay, where one Man holds ſuch an Extent of Government: And Kings, ſays he, oftentimes forget they are Men, and they are ſtyled *Dei gratiâ*, for no other Purpoſe, but to ſhew that they acknowledge no Superior upon Earth, and that they uſually make Choice of ſuch Counſellours as can beſt fit their Humours, and accommodate themſelves to their Appetites: So that he maketh Kings nothing the better for having Counſellours, whom he ſtains with an intolerable Scandal. And *Buchanan* ſays, St. *Paul* commands Obedience to Princes, in the Infancy of the Church; and if he had lived at this Time, he would have ſaid otherwiſe. But as it is ſaid, *Nullum unquam magnum ingenium ſine aliqua mixtura inſaniæ*; ſo *Buchanan* was a high-ſoaring Wit, and had ſome Tincture of Phrenzy: For had he been perfectly ſound, he would never have let ſlip ſuch a *Hyſteron Proteron* as this from his Pen. And *Knox*, in his Hiſtory of *Scotland*, not only juſtifies what *Buchanan* ſays, but would be content, that there

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there were publick Rewards appointed for such as murder Tyrants, as there are for such as kill Wolves; which is a most pernicious Doctrine, fit for nothing but to encourage a *Ravillac*, or a *Poltrat*. *Calvin*, who writes in the Quality of a Divine, in his Institutions, makes a *Nebuchadnezar* of all Kings, that he might not come short of his Predecessor *Martin Luther*.

I confess, Princes once dispossessed seldom recover their Hold again. There is none will deny, but that it is necessary the Government of all Princes should be regulated by Laws, and that Persons in Authority do observe those Rules that are prescribed to them by those to whom that Power belongs. I pretend not to enhance the Authority of Princes so far, as to exempt them from the Rule of Law, or to make them arbitrary in their Government: But when it is said, *Vos estis Dii*, they are justly established in the supreme Authority; and when *I have said, Ye are Gods*, surely it was intended rather to teach the World a Lesson of Obedience, than Rebellion; and Kings by those Words are justly established by divine Providence in the same Authority, and exempted from any popular Cognizance. It's proper only for God to say, *Transferam Regna de Gente in Gentem:* The Translating of Kingdoms is the extraordinary Dispensation of divine Providence, for Reasons known to God's secret Wisdom: And tho' this be done by the Hands of Men, yet are not the common People licensed thereby to run upon any irregular Designs

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of their own Head, and to take Revenge of their Governours. St. *Paul* commands every Soul to pay Obedience and Honour to *Nero*, who was God's Lieutenant upon Earth, and had the Image of God upon him, that is, God's Authority, and was therefore to be used with due Honour and Reverence. When *Julian*, of a Christian Emperor, became Apostate, and persecuted the Christians with great Cruelty; tho' the People sharply reproved, and inveighed against his Proceedings, yet none of them took up Arms against him, to depose him of Dominion or Life; and if they thought it not expedient to do so against a Tyrant, who only acted by his exorbitant Passions, how much less would they have thought it lawful to be done against such Princes as govern legally, and do nothing against Religion. We must know, that Kings are to be considered in a double Capacity, of Nature, and of Policy: The Body Politick never dies, and so is never defective of Authority. The Acts of the Body Politick are not abated by the Natural Body's Access; the Body Politick is not disabled to govern by the Nonnage of the Natural. So in the 4th of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Leases of the Dutchy of *Lancaster* made by King *Edward* VI. were resolved by all the Judges to be good, tho' made in the King's Minority: For tho' the King's Body Natural cannot judge, yet that disables not, that the Acts of his Minority, ordered by his Council or Regent, should be of no Validity. The Parliament certainly would not take

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it well, if a Catholick ſhould affirm, that the Change of Religion made by King *Edward* VI. was not warrantable, being done in his Minority, when he had not Age to diſcern what he did, being in the Hands of the Protector and *Northumberland*.

But, ſuppoſe the King breaks his Coronation Oath, may not many things happen after his Oath taken, to excuſe him from Perjury? By Law, every Oath, how abſolute ſoever, hath always this neceſſary Condition annexed tacitly, *viz. Rebus ſic ſtantibus*, that things remain as they were, when the Oath was taken: But if ſuch Alterations, which make either the Oath or Promiſe impoſſible, or unlawful to be performed; a Man doth not then commit Perjury, that breaks his Oath or Promiſe. What, if that which the King at his Inauguration promiſed for the Good of his People, cannot be obſerved, without great Damage to them? If the Condition of Affairs be ſo changed, Reſolutions upon them muſt alſo change. Dr. *Bilſon*, a great Divine, and a great Prelate of the Church of *England*, and choſen on Purpoſe by the great Stateſmen of his Time, to write *Cum Privilegio*, puts the Queſtion, Whether a King ſhall be depoſed for breaking his Coronation Oath? And he anſwers in the Negative, and gives this Reaſon: *The People may not break with their Prince ſo often as he breaks with God: For*, ſays he, *Subjects cannot depoſe their Princes, to whom they muſt be ſubject for Conſcience ſake*; which Doctrine is quite contrary to what

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is now taught. And farther, Dr. *Bilson* says, That *Subjects are forbidden to take Arms against their Princes*; the Reason hereof he says is invincible: *For to him that may Kill and War against a Prince, Killing him is of Consequence inevitable. The Apostle*, saith he, *obeyed Tyrants that commanded all things against Religion; and in those things they did submit themselves with Meekness to endure the Magistrate's Pleasure, and not to obey his Will.* And he concludes, *That if the Laws of the Land appoint the Nobles, as next the King, to assist him in doing right, and to withold him from doing wrong, then they are licensed by Man's Law to interpose themselves, but in no Case to deprive the Prince where the Scepter is inherited.*

It is most manifest, that this Spirit of Reformation hath ever been, and is most dangerous to those Princes and States where it gets Footing. This was it which begat so many Conspiracies against Queen *Mary*: So that more Princes have been deposed and persecuted by Protestants their Subjects, upon the Difference of Religion, than have been by the Practices of any Catholick Subjects in any time before Queen *Mary*'s Days, for Six Hundred Years. But we will send them to Doctor *Bilson*, a great Divine of their own Church, who holds it an Article of Faith, that Princes were not to be deposed; which was good Doctrine in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' it was not thought so in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, who reigned not much above Five Years, and yet had more Insur-

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rections raiſed againſt her in that ſmall Time, than Queen *Elizabeth* had from the Catholicks in Forty Five Years; and yet Queen *Mary* was very merciful, and ſhewed much Compaſſion to ſuch as deſerved not well of her: To the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*; to Sir *John Clarke*, who had been a principal Corrupter of King *Edward* her Brother's Infancy; to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Montague*, who both counſelled and ſubſcribed to her Diſinheriting; and to many others who were attainted, that neither affected her Religion nor Title, and were then Priſoners in the *Tower*; and yet ſhe releaſed them all: And for all this, the Zealots of her Time would not ſuffer her to enjoy any Quiet, but murmured againſt the Government of Women, and did conſpire and plot her Deprivation, out of a Deſire to advance her Succeſſor, under whom they expected a golden Age. And *Knox* then ſaid, the Nobility, Magiſtrates, and Judges, and the whole People of *England*, were bound in Conſcience not only to oppoſe the Proceedings of that *Jezabel*, *Mary*, but even to have killed her, and all her Prieſts with her.

After the Death of this Queen, her Siſter *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and the whole Chriſtian World ſtood amazed at ſuch a ſudden Alteration; and the rather, becauſe Religion had been ſo lately and ſo ſolemnly reſtored by Parliament. Alſo, the Queen that now was had always profeſſed her ſelf a Catholick, during the Reign of her Siſter, and did conſtantly

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hear Mass, and went often to Confession; and in open Parliament, after her Intention for a Change in Religion, began to be discovered, she used Policy, at least; for she assured the *Roman* Catholicks, that no Trouble should arise to them for any Difference in Religion, which did much abate the Opposition that otherwise might probably have been made by the Catholick Party, and put the Clergy themselves in Hopes of some fair Quarter under her Government. She knew well, that a Prince alone, how sovereign soever, could not establish a new Religion in this Kingdom, without a Parliament to give Authority and Countenance to it, and therefore, to win the Bishops, and the rest of the Catholicks in Parliament, to Silence, at least, she was content to use Policy with them, and promise them fair; and she also thought good to qualify the Style somewhat, from *Supreme Head* changing it into *Supreme Governour*; which altered not the Sense, yet it abused some into a Belief, that the Queen pretended not much in Matters Ecclesiastical, as the King her Father had done, who was *Flagellum Dei*, the Scourge of God to the Church of *England*, and the first King in our Nation that ever tried the admirable Patience, Obedience, and Loyalty of his Catholick Subjects.

Nicephorus Phocas, the Emperor, was the neareſt Parallel to this King that we meet with in all the Ecclesiastical History; for he resumed all Donations that had been made unto Monasteries and Churches in his Time; but such

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such Afflictions followed him ever after, that *Basilius* his Successor (who was none of the best Emperors) was yet careful to abrogate those Laws of *Phocas* among his first Acts, as the Root of all the Calamities of those Times. Nor did any better Success attend King *Harrie*'s Impieties. His exorbitant Lusts, which were the Original of all the Mischiefs which the Nation suffered, became at last his Torments. No King was ever more necessitated in Point of Treasure, in very few Years after that immense Treasure left him by his royal Father. Never did King lay more heavy Taxes upon his Subjects, and never any King did use more ignoble and unprincely Ways to raise Money; and to shew God's great Displeasure against him, he was frustrated of that which was pretended to be his chiefest Design, *viz.* Succession and Issue: All his noble Stems and Branches were taken away, one after the other, without Issue, and his Crown translated to another Name and Nation, God suffering him as a blind Man, to err and wander in all his Courses; and all the great Treasure which he had raked together upon the Ruine of the Church, was all spent in Excess and Vanity, and not to any Honour of the Kingdom, nor Ease of his Subjects, or Maintenance of the Borders, or Relief of the Poor (all which were at first mainly pretended) but at last all was employed in Tiltings, Masks, and Mummeries, and in pleasing and inviting his Mistresses, and to satisfy the greedy Appetites of those Sollicitors of his Lust. And when

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the King had thus wearied his Subjects with a long and inglorious Reign, and that he found his Soul as much oppreſſed with the Guilt of his Sins, as his Body was become unweildy thro' his exceſſive Intemperance; he died (as ſome ſay) deſirous to repent, and be reconciled to the Church; but what Effect his Deſires had, is only known to God: And yet the Catholicks took all patiently, raiſed no Tumults or Inſurrections, but were Examples of the true *Iſraelites*, and did imitate, in ſome Meaſure, their divine Maſter's Meekneſs, and reſolved rather to undergo God's juſt Puniſhment in the King's great Injuſtice, than to ſhew themſelves like ſo many *Lutherans* or *Calviniſts*, and had only the true Chriſtian Arms, of Prayers and Tears, by Submiſſion to God's Will.

Kings indeed ought to conſider, that God hath placed them over his People, as Examples, to give Countenance to their Laws, by their own ſtrict Obſervation of them; and that as their Subjects are to be protected by their Princes, ſo they are to be aſſiſted and ſupported by each other, the Function of Kings being an Order by it ſelf; and the Rebellion of Subjects ought to be looked upon by all other Kings as an Aſſault upon their own Sovereignty, and in ſome Degree a Deſign againſt Monarchy it ſelf, and conſequently to be ſuppreſſed in what Kingdom ſoever it is, with the like Concernment as if it were in their own Bowels: And all foreign Miniſters, who ought to have been highly concerned for the Murder of K. *Charles* I.

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by his mercileſs Rebels, and to have vindicated that royal Blood, did ſcarce murmur at it, but made haſte to ſend over their Emiſſaries to get a Share in the Spoils of a murdered Prince? And yet not one of thoſe Monarchs and Princes, which bought all the coſtly Pictures, and rich Hangings and Furniture, ever reſtored any of their unlawful Purchaſes to the King after his moſt happy Reſtoration. 'Tis true, the then King of *Spain* expreſſed a very tender Senſe of our King's Sufferings, and ſaid, it concerned all Kings to join together, for Puniſhment of ſuch an impious Rebellion, and cruel Parricide, whilſt his own Ambaſſador, *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, then in *England*, not only countenanced and joined with the Parliament, but bought the greateſt and beſt Part of all the rare Pictures and rich Moveables, which he ſold in *Spain* at great Rates; And whilſt he was in *Flanders*, he gave Count *Fuenſaldagna* a falſe Relation of the *Engliſh* Affairs, aſſuring him that the *Engliſh* Monarchy would never again be reſtored; and when it happened, he was laughed at by all. However, it is certain, that whilſt that great Impoſtor *Cromwell* lived, his Power at Home was nothing conſiderable to what it was Abroad: For *France*, *Spain*, *Holland*, and all the neighbouring Princes feared him to that Degree, that there was nothing he could have demanded of them that they would have denied him.

No Man can deny, but that many well-meaning Men were ſeduced by the diſguiſed Deſigns

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of

of that myſterious Age, and by thoſe Villains who always had in their Aim to deſtroy Monarchy, and unhinge the whole Frame of Government; and the ſober Party were cozened by the Artifices of that loathſome Hypocrite, *Cromwell*: Till at laſt they were inſpired with a Reſolution to redeem themſelves, their Religion and Liberties, which were treacherouſly taken from them by Deceit and Fraud; and to free themſelves from the miſerable Yoke they lay under, when they plainly ſaw, that Religion, Reformation, and Liberty, were only deceitful Baits to draw in the deluded Multitude: But ſtill their moſt hopeful Deſigns not being carried on with that Prudence and Precaution which was neceſſary, they were always diſcovered, and did rather ſettle and confirm, than weaken the Rebellion; till that over-ruling Hand of Providence, which guides and determines the Affairs of the whole World, was moſt viſibly ſeen in his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtoration.

It is no new thing for the worſt of Men to make uſe of the ſacred Name of Religion, to palliate their abominable Undertakings. The Ruine of pious Kings and Princes, the Overturning all Order in the World, the tragical Tranſactions of the laſt Age, the Convulſions of State, the Commotions of the People, the many Changes and Overturnings of Governours and Governments, were the ſad Effects of the pretended Reformation; and all theſe Miſchiefs were uſher'd in with the Lamb-like, harmleſs

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Voice of Religion. They came indeed in Sheeps Cloathing, who inwardly were ravening Wolves: Some Mens Religion inclines them to Faction, and there is none ſo dangerous Faction as that which is nouriſhed by the Corruption of falſe Religion. The *Jewiſh* Zealots and the *Engliſh* Enthuſiaſts are a plain Example of it; and therefore when Men make great Pretences, and begin to talk factiouſly, a fair Opportunity is very like to make them Rebels: And thoſe who have ſeen what the Event of thoſe Actions were in the Years of 1640 and 1641, when they ſaw the ſame things acted over again, and even by ſome of the ſame Men, they might eaſily and certainly expect the ſame Events: And if Men had ſeriouſly obſerved this, the ſame Men would never have played over the ſame Game twice in the ſame Age; which obliged the then Lord Chancellor to take Notice of it in his Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, That he hoped they would not ſee three Kingdoms quite deſtroyed twice in one Age, by the ſame Methods; telling them, when Men were in their Wits, they would not fall into the ſame Pit, in which they had ſeen others fall before them, when even Beaſts will not do it, let the Bait be what it will. But, alas! many of thoſe who were the principal Makers of the firſt, were ſo far from falling into it, that they were the chiefeſt Diggers of the ſecond Pit, in which ſo many had fallen: And we were then come to that Paſs, that it was an unpardonable Crime for any Man to look as if he thought the Cry of *Popery!* was falſe,

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and made a Property only (as it then really was) to ſerve ſome Mens Ends and Deſigns.

It was a great Fault in King *Charles* I. at leaſt, a great Weakneſs in him, to diveſt himſelf of the Power of diſſolving the Long Parliament, which was a juſt Prerogative belonging to him: And tho' the Parliament then ſaid, that ſhould not encourage them to do any thing which otherwiſe was not fit for them to do; yet they ſoon invaded the publick Liberty, and they who ſaid they had no Mind to be Slaves, were yet willing to be Tyrants themſelves, and would admit no Rules to govern by but their own Will; not conſidering the Miſery of *Athens* was at the higheſt when it was governed by Thirty Tyrants. And therefore the wiſeſt Courſe of Princes is frequently to ſummon Parliaments, and ſeaſonably to diſſolve them after their applying Cures to thoſe Diſeaſes they had diſcovered, whereby they would be of great Eſteem to the Crown, as well as Veneration with the People; and not let them ſit any longer, leſt they ſhould fall into Factions, and pretend to find Grievances where there are none. And if King *Charles* II. had lived ſome Years longer, he had certainly brought them to that Paſs, and preſerved *England* from the Diſtractions that have ſince followed; which his Majeſty foreſaw, and which cauſed him to make thoſe frequent Intervals of Parliaments. And yet his Majeſty declared unto them, That none of his Predeceſſors ever had a greater Eſteem for Parliaments, the King believing them

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them to be the vital Part of the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and ſo neceſſary for the Government of it, that neither Prince nor People could be happy without them; and looked upon their Counſels as the beſt he could receive, and was as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to preſerve and protect them, as of his own royal Authority; knowing that all good Subjects would be jealous of any thing that might infringe or impair his royal Authority, his own Intereſt being entirely bound up with that of his Subjects. But they ſhould conſider, that Parliament Men ſit as Subjects, not as Superiors, and that they are called to be the King's Counſellours, not Dictators, their Summons being only to recommend their Advice, not to command. They ſhould be wiſe, diſpaſſionate, good Patriots, to raiſe up thoſe Banks and Fences which were caſt down by Rebellion, in Hopes that the ſame Proſperity ſhould ſpring up again from thoſe Roots which it did heretofore, and hath always grown, tho' it was very hard to redeem our Nation from the Infamy it had undergone, and to reſtore it to all it had loſt, and to make the King and People as happy as they ought to be; and there was nothing that the Parliament could propoſe for the Happineſs of the Kingdom, in which the King did not contend with them to compaſs, the King not being only willing, but deſirous to gratify his People, by ſecuring their Religion, Liberties and Properties, by as many good Laws as the Parliament would

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would propose. He was absolutely determined to do all that in him lay to glad the Hearts of his People, and gave them many Opportunities of providing for their Good; and it could not be imputed to his Majesty, that the Success did not answer his Expectation.

The particular Causes of the King's Dissatisfaction were such, that what he recommended to the House of Commons to avoid, they purposely fell into; and tho' the King solemnly promised to comply with any thing that would have been proposed for Security of the Protestant Religion as by Law established, that might consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent: Yet to all his Majesty's Offers he met with most unsuitable and most unwarrantable Returns. The King would most willingly have consented to any Expedient by which the Protestant Religion established might have been preserved, and the Monarchy not destroyed: But no Expedient would serve those ill-natured Gentlemen of the House of Commons, but the total Exclusion of the Duke of *York*, which his Majesty had so often declared, was a Point which in Honour, Justice and Conscience, he could not consent to. When this Bill of Exclusion was first set on Foot, it was well said, by a noble Person then in the House of Commons, That the King might outlive the Duke of *York*, and then all they were doing would be unnecessary; and why should they, to prevent that which might not be, attempt to do

that

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that which they could never justify, either to the King or Country. When the King found they went contrary to the direct Rules of Law, that he was deceived by them, and that the Follies and Imprudencies of the prevailing Party in the House of Commons (some of which had given Birth and Growth to the Miseries of the last Age) and were now pouring in Vinegar instead of Oil, into the Wounds of the Nation, and departed from that Fidelity which they owed the King, and that Zeal which they should have shewed to his Service, and that nothing would serve them of the same Leaven with those of 1641, but the total Exclusion of his Royal Highness succeeding to the Crown, and had prepared an Act for it, the King came in Person to the House of Lords, and sent for the Commons to attend him, in the Year 1680. The King then spake roundly to them, and told them how unsatisfied he was with their extravagant Proceedings, and desired to know speedily, how he should be assisted by them, and what they desired from him, assuring them in the Word of a King, that he would concur to any thing for the Security of the Protestant Religion, as it was established by Law, but still upon the same Terms he had formerly proposed to them, and that he would never do it otherwise.

But before the House of Commons went to the Lords, where the King in his Robes expected them, they passed those ensuing Votes: That the only Way for suppressing of Popery, was,

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was, that a Bill ſhould be brought in to baniſh immediately all the conſiderable Papiſts in *England*, out of the King's Dominions: That ſo long as the Papiſts had any Hopes of the Duke of *York*'s ſucceeding to the Crown, the King's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, the Lives, Liberties and Properties of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, were in apparent Danger to be deſtroyed. They farther voted, That a Bill ſhould be brought in for an Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, for Defence of the Proteſtant Religion againſt all Tyranny and Oppreſſion whatſoever; and for preventing the Duke of *York*, or any Papiſt, for ſucceeding to the Crown. They did likewiſe declare, That it was the Opinion, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had been removed from his Offices and Commands, by the Influence of the Duke of *York*; and that an Addreſs ſhould be made to the King, to reſtore the Duke of *Monmouth* to his Offices and Commands; and reſolved likewiſe (juſt before the King being in his Robes had ſent for them to the Lords Houſe to prorogue them) that whoſoever adviſed the King to that Prorogation, which they ſaid was done on Purpoſe againſt Paſſing the Bill for Excluſion of the Duke of *York*, was a Betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, the Kingdom of *England*, a Promoter of the *French* Intereſt, and a Penſioner of *France*. They alſo voted at the ſame time, That it was the Opinion of the Houſe, that the City of *London* was

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was burnt by the Papists in 1666, thereby designing to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power. Upon these extravagant, insolent, and disloyal Votes, the King forthwith dissolved the Parliament.

Now the strangest thing was, that those who most pretended in the House of Commons for Reformation, had a bare-fac'd Contempt and Distaste of all Religion whatsoever, and not so much as the Shadow of Vertue: Men of the most licentious Lives, of the most seared Consciences, of the most profligate Reputation, that had bid Defiance to all Religion, and most diligently cultivated Atheism and Profaneness. It is indeed enough to move the most patient Man upon Earth, to consider what Foreheads of Steel and Adamant those impious Wretches had, who were thus confident to gull and impose upon the People of *England*, by seeming Zeal for Religion and Reformation: But such as rebel under Pretence of Religion, are most dangerous to the Government; they will pretend to defend the King's Person against Catholicks, that themselves only might have the Honour of subverting the Government; so hard a thing it is to cure one that is bewitched with the Principles of Rebellion, that after many Years he shall return to his Trade as boldly as if his former Pranks had never been heard of. Fear of Popery, Arbitrary Government, and evil Counsellours, in my Memory, since the Year 1641, made our *English* Nation run mad, cost an infinite Treasure, with the Lives of

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ſome Thouſand *Engliſh*; and, in Concluſion, inſtead of Religion, ſetting up Enthuſiaſm; inſtead of Liberty, the Nation was enſlaved to a military Power; inſtead of Property, Plunder, Sacrilege, and Sequeſtration; and they were juſt playing the ſame Game over again in this King's Time, if by little leſs than a Miracle, they had not been prevented: And whoſoever throws off his Allegiance to his Sovereign, he renounces all Duty and Conſcience towards God.

The King calls a Parliament by his own Writ and Authority (without which they cannot meet) to give him faithful Counſel about his moſt weighty Affairs; but he does not reſign up his Intereſt and Freedom: He never ſubjects himſelf to their abſolute Determination: He always weighs their Counſels, as coming from a Body entruſted by him; and when he diſſents from them, he tells them the Reaſons which prevailed with his Conſcience and Underſtanding, with that Candor that a Prince ſhould do towards his Subjects. A King ſhould look upon his Parliament as his great Council, to whoſe Advice he ſhould always have Regard: But a King ſhould likewiſe look upon himſelf, as neither deprived of his Underſtanding, nor diveſted of any Right he had, if there was no Parliament ſitting. The King's Power is undoubtedly very uſeful for his People's Liberty, and Parliaments ought not to ſet Bounds to their Princes; and wiſe Princes will never deſire nor affect more Greatneſs or Prerogative, than

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than what is really for the Good of the Subjects.

The Truth is, since the happy Restoration of our King, his People were given up to too much Joy and Forgetfulness of our past Miseries; and there was not such a Return to God for his wonderful Blessings, as was due to the great Giver of them; and when we saw some Portion of that innocent royal Blood which was spilt, recompensed upon some of their Heads, who were the wicked Contrivers of that Parricide: When the Miseries of our Nation, and the Sufferings of the Royal Family were all recovered by the unerring Hand of divine Providence, without the Intervention of any foreign Prince, many of the same Men joining in the Settlement of our distracted Nation, who had before been active in the Destruction of their Country, to shew how sensible they were of their former Errors and great Miscarriages; it then manifestly appearing to them, and all others (who were not wilfully blind) that the Bill of Exclusion was carried on with that Violence, to facilitate the Dethroning of the King and his Successor, who had ventured his Blood as frankly both by Sea and Land, in the Good of the Country, as the meanest Subject in it; and had manifested his unalterable Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty and his Subjects, by reducing *Scotland* to Obedience, whose Conduct in that Affair was both wise and prosperous.

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Now, when the Nation had ſcarce wiped their Eyes dry for the Blood of the incomparable Father, they were ready to be drowned again in Tears for the Murder of the ſucceeding Son, if their Cruelty had been effected. The Rage of thoſe Rebels in the Long Parliament had only the Blood of one King for its Gratification; but here the Rebels intended to have glutted their Thirſt of Blood, by murthering Two at one Blow, the King with his Royal Brother: And to give their Inhumanity the higheſt Aſcent, they were preparing to murder a Prince whoſe auguſt Majeſty had not only enobled the Nation, and once more reſtored it from its loſt Reputation abroad, but made his own Kingdom (as he then had Reaſon to think) an Ark of Safety at home, when almoſt all other Chriſtian Nations were deluged in Blood and Confuſion.

Who would have imagined a Deſign ſhould be laid to murder that King, the Blood of whoſe Royal Father ſtill cried for Vengeance? Who would imagine, that he who was reſtored almoſt by a Miracle, when the People of *England* ran chearfully into Obedience, and met his Majeſty with Duty and Love, and received him with triumphant Hoſanna's, with many Proteſtations of Sorrow for their former Miſcarriages, and with many Vows of Loyalty and Obedience? Who would have thought, after ſo many Promiſes of making him a Glorious King! After ſuch Acts of Indemnity granted to ſuch Monſters of Rebels! After ſuch Profuſions

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of royal Bounty to ſuch undeſerving Villains! After ſo many Profeſſions of the Care they would have for the Preſervation of his ſacred Life! After ſo many ſpecious Addreſſes of his moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, as they called themſelves? Who, I ſay, would imagine, that after all this, any Man could be found to conſpire to murder his ſacred Majeſty? As if all his Condeſcenſions and Favours had been Injuries to make Repriſals upon his Life; and then reſolved to revenge his Death upon others, when they were doing it themſelves. In the Bill of Excluſion, the Duke of *York* was to be ſet aſide for the King's Preſervation; but in this Plot the King was to be murdered for the Duke's ſake; and both King and Duke being taken in the ſame Dilemma (after the Preſbyterian Logick) were to be ſacrificed: And had their Conſpiracy taken Effect, they would ſo far have extenuated the Matter, that Cutting of Throats would only be called a *Scotch* Way of Trimming, and the Deſtruction of the King and Duke, to be no more but a perfecting the Work of entire Reformation: And if this Conſpiracy had ſucceeded, it would have put an End to our national Conſtitution, and a Period to the very Fundamentals of all human Society.

I know no Deliverances come nearer to thoſe of King *David*, than thoſe wonderful Deliverances of this King: Firſt from his Eſcape at *Worceſter*, and from ſo many *Sheba's* and *Achitophels*, which God from time to time wrought for him; which perhaps no Age, no State, no

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Hiſtory can ſhew the like: But this Conſpiracy was the more terrible, in that *Achitophel* was in the Head of it, who had corrupted and debauched the counterfeit *Abſalom*. *Achitophel!* that falſe and treacherous Villain; that dextrous Man at Wickedneſs; that cunning crafty Politician, who had been Preſident of the King's Council, who was eſteemed as an Oracle! That hardened Traitor, who ſtole away, that he might die in his Bed, when it was Pity that ſuch an inveterate and adviſing Rebel ſhould have died any other Way, than by the Hand of Juſtice, which he had certainly done without an *Ignoramus Jury*, when the higheſt Treaſon was formed by ſuch working Heads, and conducted by ſuch politick Counſels; for it was not only countenanced and abetted by the *Fæces* of the People, but was really incouraged by ſome of the Nobility, who had affronted his Majeſty, by Petitioning, Proteſting, and Caballing, which gave the ſeditious Faction a full Aſſurance, that they were powerful enough to overturn the Monarcy, their Deſign being to be executed by ſuch deſperate Villains, that nothing leſs could be expected, than the Kingdom's inevitable Ruine, had not the King been miraculouſly preſerved.

But how ſhameful a thing was it, that Perſons of Birth and Quality ſhould condeſcend to be Tools, and to creep in the Duſt, to humour a baſe, unworthy, diſloyal Faction, taken out of the Dregs of the People? That they ſhould endeavour to extinguiſh that Light from whence they derived their own Luſtre, and to ſhine only

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only by the Favour of an inconſtant heady Multitude, and the King's Death (however it happened) was to be put upon the *Roman* Catholicks; and thoſe Rebels had a Perſon ready to take upon him the Government, whoſe Preſumption in the next Reign, owning his falſe Title to the Crown, brought him to end his Life upon a Scaffold, inſtead of a Throne, which he aimed at; and if he had gained his Point, he had entailed War and Blood to our unborn Poſterity; againſt which no Caution could certainly be too great, nor againſt that Diſtemper from which we were ſo miraculouſly recovered, when there was no Cauſe to fear the Loſs of Religion, Liberty, and Property; neither did they believe themſelves, who pretended to be afraid of them. The Moderation of a Prince was never more ſhewed than by this King, who then ſuffered ſo much licentious Talk to paſs unpuniſhed; and there appeared fewer Grievances in his Time than had ever been before, and *England* ſeemed never more happy than at this Time: And it was a ſtrange Ingratitude of thoſe who ſeemed ill at Eaſe under ſo temperate a Government, who were yet ſo numerous in the Houſe of Commons, that they out-voted the beſt Men in it; which made the King often prorogue them, which proved fatal to his Succeſſor, tho' this King did all that was poſſible, to keep his People in Peace whilſt he lived, and to leave them ſo when he died; which puts me in Mind of a prophetical Saying of this King to me, ſome Years before his Death.

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About two Years before the Death of King *Charles* II. he gave me Leave to come into *England*, and ſent the *Katherine* Yacht to *Oſtend* for me. Some Days after my Arrival at *Whitehall*, he commanded me to walk with him to *Hyde Park*; and as I walked with him (the reſt of the Company keeping at a good Diſtance) he told me, that I had ſerved him very well at *Bruſſels*, and that his Brother had given him a very good Account of my Carriage towards him there. His Majeſty then told me, that I had ſerved him as Agent and Reſident for many Years; and tho' he conſtantly uſed to change his Miniſters, at leaſt their Station, every three Years; that yet I had ſerved him ſo much to his Satisfaction, that he was reſolved never to remove me from *Bruſſels* whilſt he lived, eſpecially during the Wars in *Flanders*, becauſe I had always given him a very particular Account of them, and that I knew that Country very well, and the Intereſt of all the great Men in it; and that I was there very well approved of, and that my Diligence and Activity in his Service had been very conſiderable in thoſe troubleſome Times: And, after having aſked me many Queſtions about the Nobility of thoſe Countries, he ſaid, that during his Exile abroad, he had ſeen many Countries, of which none pleaſed him ſo much as that of the *Flemings*, which were the moſt honeſt and true-hearted Race of People that he had met with; and then added, *but I am weary of travelling, I am reſolved to go abroad no more: But when I am*

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I am dead and gone, I know not what my Brother will do: I am much afraid, that when he comes to the Crown, he will be obliged to travel again: And yet I will take Care to leave my Kingdoms to him in Peace, wishing he may long keep them so. But this hath all of my Fears, little of my Hopes, and less of my Reason; and I am much afraid, that when my Brother comes to the Crown, he will be obliged again to leave his native Soil. This Discourse of the King's I have often remembered with much Grief and Sorrow, which hath been —— true in all its Circumstances: And certainly had this King loved Business as well as he understood it, he had been the greatest Prince of his Time.

Some time after my Return to *Brussels*, in the Year 1684, I received this following Letter from the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was then Principal Secretary of State, in whose Province I was, dated *April* 14, 1684.

SIR,

I Am commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that in Case the Duke of Monmouth *should come into* Flanders, *he would not have you take any Notice of him; and his Majesty would have you acquaint his Subjects in those Parts with the Directions I send you, to the End they may likewise conform themselves to his Majesty's Pleasure in their Behaviour.*

I am, Sir, Your most Humble Servant,
SUNDERLAND.

About

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About this time, several *English* and *Scotch* Officers came daily to see me from the Prince of *Orange*'s Camp then at *Dighnin* near *Brussels*; and some of them being very inquisitive to know what News I had from *England*, the Time being then very critical, I shewed them my Lord *Sunderland*'s Letter to me, which, it seems, had such Influence upon some of them, that the next Day, when the Duke of *Monmouth* went from *Brussels* to the Prince of *Orange*'s Camp, which he did very frequently, and the Prince of *Orange* had given a general Order, that whenever the Duke of *Monmouth* entered the Camp, the whole Army should stand to their Arms. But that Day, when the Duke entered the Camp, some *English* and *Scotch* Officers did neither stand to their Arms, as the Duke passed by them, nor their Companies; of which Neglect the Duke of *Monmouth* took particular Notice, and complained to his Highness of their Neglect. Whereupon the Prince forthwith sent for those Officers, and sharply reprehended them for not obeying his Orders; who thereupon told the Prince, that the *English* Resident had given them Orders not to do it. Whereat the Prince was very angry; which being told me by some of the Officers, I went the next Day, with Intention to dine with the Prince, and had my Lord *Sunderland*'s Letter in my Pocket. But when I came to the Prince's Quarters, being informed that the Duke of *Monmouth* was there, I thought not fit to stay, but

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but dined with one of the *Engliſh* Collonels in the Camp; and after Dinner I waited on the Prince, and was conducted into his Cloſet, where the Prince came preſently, and after uſual Salutation, his Highneſs aſked me, how I came to give Orders to the Officers of his Army not to ſtand to their Arms when the Duke of *Monmouth* entered his Camp? I told the Prince, that I never gave them any Orders: That I had, at their earneſt Requeſt, ſhewed them a Letter I had newly received from my Lord *Sunderland*; and that if his Highneſs pleaſed, I would ſhew it him. Whereupon he deſired to ſee it; and after reading it privately to himſelf, he preſently told me, if I had done no more than ſhewed them the Letter, I had done no more than my Duty, and that it was the Fault of his Officers in not obeying his Commands: That for the King of *England*, he might do what he pleaſed, in ſending for his Officers and Soldiers, none of which he would keep againſt their Wills; but whilſt they ſerved him, he pretended they ſhould do their Duty, and obey his Commands: And ſo I took my Leave of the Prince, without going into the other Room, where the Duke of *Monmouth* Mr. *Bentinck*, and ſeveral General Officers were.

The Sixth of *February* following, which was in the Year 1684, I received this enſuing Letter from the Earl of *Sunderland*.

SIR,

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SIR,

UPON Monday *last his late Majesty was taken very ill by an Apoplectick Fit. The next Day he was much better, and continued so on* Wednesday: *But after growing much worse yesterday, his Distemper at length overcame him, so that it pleased God to call him to himself this Day about Noon; whereupon the Lords of the Council immediately assembled, and Order was given, that his Majesty should be proclaimed, which was done accordingly. God grant him a long and prosperous Reign. I am, Sir,*

Your Affectionate Friend and Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

After this, the 9th of *February* following, I had this Letter from his Lordship.

SIR,

I Sent you an Account on Friday, *of the late King's Death, and of the Proclaiming his present Majesty* James II. *who commands me to tell you, that he would have you continue your Function as his Minister, and to pursue such Orders and Instructions as have been hitherto given or sent you. I am, Sir,*

Your most Humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

The 6th of *April* following I had from *Whitehall* this ensuing Letter from the Earl of *Sunderland.*

SIR,

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SIR,

I Have, according to your Desire, moved his Majesty for Leave for you to make a Step over hither, which he is pleased to allow of, but would not have your Stay here to be long. As to the Time of your coming, his Majesty leaves it to you, and will send a Yacht to conduct you, not doubting but that you will make use of this Permission so, as that your Absence from your Station may be no Prejudice to his Service. I am, Sir,

Your Affectionate Friend and Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

I had another Letter from his Lordship, dated at the Court at *Windsor*, *August* 24, 1685.

SIR,

HIS Majesty not having fully resolved yet what Style to give the present Governour of Flanders, *and thinking your Presence there to be very necessary, commands me to signify to you, that he would have you forthwith go to* Brussels, *and be there* incognito, *till such time as your Credentials are sent you. You may excuse your not having your Credentials, by saying you were dispatched in Haste, and expect them every Day: And if in the mean time, the Governour of* Flanders *shall be willing to admit you as Envoy, his Majesty allows you to shew the Title of your private Instructions under his Majesty's own Hand, which expresses the Character you have.*

I am, Sir, Your most Humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

Whilst

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Whilst I was in *England*, the *Marquis de Grana*, who was Governour General of the *Spanish Netherlands*, being not well in his Health, retired to *Mariemont* in *Heinault*, and after some Days Sickness, he died there by a great Stoppage of Urine; and *Don Antonio d' Agusse*, who was then *Maitre de Camp General* of the Army, was forthwith declared Governour *pro interim*, wherein he behaved himself so well, that by the Interest of the King my Master, and of the Prince of *Orange*, he was confirmed absolute Governour with all its Privileges, and continued Governour for Six Years, and was then cured of his Government by the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, who was then more against him, than his Highness was before, for having that he was made *Marquis de Gastanaga*, and that he had a great and private Veneration for King *James* II. my Master, the Prince of *Orange* thereupon used his utmost Endeavour to get him out of the Government of *Flanders*; and one of the Articles which the Prince of *Orange* sent to *Madrid* against the *Marquis de Gastanaga*, was, That he had held several private Conferences with me, after the Prince of *Orange* had sent me Letters of Revocation from my Function of Envoy: But the King my Master did not discover this till it was too late to remedy it, the Prince of *Orange* being very averse to all that had any Veneration for my Master *James* II. or that were Friends to his Majesty: And that the *Marquis de Gastanaga* was his Majesty's real,

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real, tho' ſecret Friend, may be ſeen by the Letters which he wrote to me, whilſt I was in *England*, in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion; and after the Prince of *Orange* had diſcharged me from my Employment, he made Mr. *Ekart*, a *Switzer*, his Reſident at the Court of *Bruſſels*; who dying ſoon after, the Prince of *Orange* made Mr. *Wolſeley* his Envoy in the Court of *Bruſſels*, where he continued for ſome Years; but he was found to be a very lazy and unactive Man, and gave no Satisfaction to the Elector of *Bavaria*, who ſucceeded the *Marquis de Gaſtanaga*, and continued Governour during the Life of the Prince of *Orange*, ſince whoſe Death there hath been a great Change of Affairs by the Battle of *Ramillies*, and moſt of *Flanders* is now reduced under the Government of the Archduke *Charles*.

Whilſt I was with King *James* my Royal Maſter, I received many Letters from *Don Antonio Aguſto*, who was then Governour *pro interim* of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, by which it will appear how much he was in the Intereſt of the King my Maſter; the firſt of which was of the 6th of *July* 1685.

Monſieur,

VOtre Lettre de 2me. que j'ay receue aujourd'huy, m'apporte deux differents ſujets de joye: l'un pour la part que vous avez bien voulu prendre à mon Elevation au Gouvernement general de ces Pays, dont je vous ſuis fort obligé. L'autre, & plus principal, pour les bonnes nouvelles

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celles que vous me donnez, de l'heureux ſuccez des Troupes de Roy ſur les Rebelles, dont j'eſpere d'apprendre bientot l'entiere defaite. Je ſouhaite avec tant de paſſion le bien & le repos de ſa Majeſté, & je le juge d'une telle importance pour vous, qu'il n'y a perſonne du monde qui prend plus du part, ni que l'intereſſe plus que moy a ſes advantages. Ces ſont des ſentimens que je conſerveray toute ma vie pour ſa perſonne royale, & vous ne pouvez me faire un plus grand plaiſir, que de me continuer de ſi agreables nouvelles que celles que vous venez de me donner. Vous pouvant aſſeurer, que je ſuis, Monſieur,

Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,

D. Antonio Auguſto.

The 10th of *July* following I received this enſuing Letter from his Excellency.

Monſieur,

JE reçeus hier ſoir vôtre Lettre du 6me. Je vous ſuis bien obligé des nouvelles que vous me donnez de par de la, qui me ſont agreables a meſure, que j'apprens la deffaite des Rebelles, dont j'eſpera de voir bientot l'entiere ruïne, & que ſa Majeſté joüira d'une parfaite paix & tranquillité dans ſon regne, qui eſt ce que je luy ſouhaite de tout mon cœur, pour ſon bien propre, & pour celuy de toute la Chreſtienté. Continuez moy je vous prie des advis, & croyez que je ſuis, Monſieur,

Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,

D. Antonio Auguſto.

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The 24th of the ſame Month of *July*, I received this enſuing Letter from his Excellency.

Monſieur,

QUOY que j'avois été bien aiſe de voir par la vôtre du 16me le bon Eſtat ou les Troupes du Roy ſe trouvoient, j'ay eu une joye bien plus particuliere d'apprendre preſque au meſme temps par un advis de Neiuport, *que les Rebelles avoient été entierement deffaits, ce qui nous a été confirmé hier par la voye de* Hollande. *Je vous aſſeure, Monſieur, que je ne pus recevoir de ma vie, des nouvélles plus agreables, dont vous pouvez hardiment temoigner ma joye par de la, & qu'il n'y a perſonne du monde qui prend plus de part que moy, a cet heureux ſuccez. Je vous en felicite de tout mon cœur, & j'attens avec impatience l'arriveé du Courier pour en ſçavoir les particularitez, & que l'on aura finy entierement cette Rebellion qui ne pouvoit qu'alarmer ceux qui s'interreſſent comme moy aux advantages, bien & repos de ſa Majeſté Britannique. Je vous prie, Monſieur, de me continuer de vos nouvelles, & de croire que je ſuis, Monſieur,*

Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,
D. Antonio d' Aguſto.

The 10th of *Auguſt* 1685, I received this following Letter from his Excellency at *Bruſſels*.

Monſieur,

Monſieur,

JE vois par vôtre Lettre du 6me la confirmation de la priſe des Rebelles, & de la decouverte de leur trahiſon, & je ne puis aſſez remercier le bon Dieu de cet heureux ſuccez, & du repos qu'il luy a plû de reſtablir dans ce royaume: puiſque je conſidere la choſe non ſeulement tres-importante pour ſa Majeſté Britannique, mais auſſi d'une tres-grande conſequence pour toute la Chrêtienté, & particulierement pour tout ce qui regarde le Roy mon Maiſtre, dont les intereſts ſon ſi unis, & ſi inſeparables de ceux de ce royaume. Pour moy, en mon particulier, j'ay tant d' obligations à ſa Majeſté Britannique, pour les honneurs qu' elle m'a tousjours fait, & pour les bon ſentiments qu'elle veut bien avoir pour moy, que je dois prendre plus de part que perſonne du monde, dans tous ſes bonheurs & proſperitez qui s'augmenteront juſques a l'infiny, ſi elles correſpondent à mes bons ſoubaits, & aux veux qu'a cette fin, je feray toute ma vie, comme je feray connoiſtre pendant que je ſerviray dans les Gouvernement de ces Païs, & par tout ailleurs ou je me trouveray. Faites moy le plaiſir cependant, Monſieur, de me continuer de vos nouvelles, & de croire, que je ſuis, Monſieur,

Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,

D. Antonio Aguſto.

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The 24th of this Month of *Auguſt*, we had an Account from *Spain*, that *Don Antonio Aguſto* was made *Marquis de Gaſtanaga*, and declared Governour General of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and I received this enſuing Letter from his Excellency, whilſt I was at the Court at *Windſor*.

Monſieur,

JE ne puis recevoir un avis plus agreable que celuy que vous me donnez, de vôtre prochain retour icy, avec la qualité d'Envoyé du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. *Je m'aſſeure, que vous ne douterez point de la verité de ce que je viens de dire, quand vous voudrez faire reflection ſur la ſatisfaction que je dois avoir, & ay en effect, de la generoſité & ſincerité que j'ay remarquée en tout vôtre Procedé. Vous avez raiſon de dira, Monſieur, qu'il ne ſe peut que l'intention du Roy vôtre Maiſtre ne ſoit que d'être ſincere, dans une parfaite bonne intelligence avec le Roy mon Maire, puiſque il nous envoye un perſonne qui ſcait bien vos intereſts, & qui me doit être chere par tant de conſiderations, revetüe d'un charactere qui marque l'eſtime que ſa Majeſtè a pour nous, & l'amitie qu'il a pour ces Provinces de mon Gouvernement; & je tacheray d'en meriter la confirmation, en faiſant tout ce que ſa Majeſté pourra deſirer de moy, en faveur de ſes ſujets, & leur rendre la plus promte juſtice, & par cet moyen, je tacheray de luy donner des marques du profond reſpect que j'ay pour la per-*

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ſonne de ſa Majeſté, & les preuves des ſentimens que j'ay de vôtre merite : Et comme vous avez eu la bonté de prendre beaucoup d'intereſt à tout ce qui ne touche, & en particulier envers le Roy vôtre Maiſtre, de mon coſte auſſi je prendray tousjours à cœur vos interêts, avec toute l'affection & ſincerité, avec laquelle je ſuis, Monſieur,

Vôtre Tres-affectionné Serviteur,

Le Marquis de Gaſtanaga.

Poſtſcriptum written with his own Hand.

Sachant, Monſieur, que je trouveray tousjours la meſme diſpoſition en vous, il ne ſe peut que je ne me rejouïſſe, quand je conſidere, que j'auray à negotier avec un Miniſtre ſi capable, & ſi bien intentionné, que vous. A cette raiſon, je ſouhaite ardemment de vous voir revenir icy bientot.

Le Roy mon Maiſtre a demande cette Lettre, laquelle j'ay donnée à ſa Majeſté.

Here follows the Copy of the Letter I wrote to his Excellency from *Windſor*, the 18th of *Auguſt* 1685, who was firſt declared Governour *pro interim*, upon the Death of the *Marquis de Grana*, and afterwards was declared Governour General of the Low Countries for the

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the King of *Spain*, and continued Six Years in that Government.

Monſieur,

J'Ay bien reçû l'honneur de celle que vôtre Excellence avoit la peine de m'ecrire, & quoy que je retourneray bientot à Bruxelles, *avec le Charactere d'Envoyé du Roy mon Maiſtre, cependant je dois eſtre regarde icy de vôtre Excellence non autrement qu'un homme privé, & un de plus ordinaires ſujets de ſa Majeſté, qui n'eſt plus Miniſtre public, ni admis dans ſes affaires: par conſequent mes Lettres ne peuvent contenir que les complimens d'un homme oiſif, mais en attendant j'eſpere que vôtre Excellence ne manquez pas dans* Windſor *d'une perſonne entierement devouée à ſon ſervice, & empreſſée à recevoir ſes ordres tandis qu'elle fera ſon ſejour icy. Et je ſcay bien, que Monſieur* Don Pedro Ronquillos *eſt trop bien a elle Cour, & d'ailleurs trop eclaire, & trop exact pour m'avoir pas informé vôtre Excellence de tout ce qu'il doit ſcavoir par raport à nôtre Cour. Sur tout il n' aura pas je m'aſſeure manqué de luy parler de l'amitie & de l'eſtime de ſa Majeſté pour la perſonne de vôtre Excellence. Il vous aura auſſi entretenu des heureuſes diſpoſitions que ſa Majeſté conte de trouver dans l'Aſſemblée du Parlement, pour l'augmentation de ſes Finances, & pour la ſeureté de ſes intereſts, tant au dedans qu'au dehors de ſes Eſtats. J'eſpere que vôtre Excellence ne me ſcaura pas mauvais gré d'avoir donné à ſa Majeſté ſa*

Lettre,

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Lettre, dans laquelle elle a donné les marques ſi evidentes de la part qu'elle prend en tout ce qui regarde la grandeur de ſa Majeſté, laquelle ayant pris depuis long temps beaucoup de part dans tout ce qui touche la perſonne & les intereſts de vôtre Excellence. Et à preſent j'eſperé bien qu'e étant pourveüe d'une charge auſſi importante qu'eſt celle de Gouverneur General des Pays-Bas, *je n'ay pû manquer en luy donnant ; &* Para bien,. *& temoigner la joye que j'en ay reſentie pour pluſieurs raiſons : Car puiſque dans le Poſte où je ſuis, il me ſera tousjours neceſſaire de negotier avec vôtre Excellence, je ſerai fort aiſe d'avoir une liaiſon d'affaires avec celuy, avec qui j'ai deja des liaiſons d'amitié : Je me felicite d'avoir à faire a un ſage diſpenſateur, qui m'a deja donné tant des marques de ſa noble & judicieuſe maniere d'agir. Avec quelle joye n'ai je point veu vôtre penchant particulier, à effectuer la bon correſpondence entre les deux couronnes de nos Maitres : & je me fais un plaiſir de penſer, que par la bonne conduite de vôtre Excellence, on fera tel bon reglement, touchant nos Marchands* Anglois *a* Oſtende, *qu'on mettra fin à leurs plaintes & miſeres. Je crois que vôtre Excellence s'eſt deja propoſé a la faire, vous aſſeurant, qu'une telle conduite ſera fort ſatisfactoire au Roy mon Maiſtre, & à tous les Marchands. Cette conduite ſauvera le ſoin au Roy mon Maiſtre de ſonger à un nouveau Gouverneur, & luy fera prendre la partie de prolonger vôtre Gouvernement. Mes veux ne manqueront jamais à vôtre Excellence, &*

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mes ſervices ſeconderont mes veux toutes les fois qu'ils ſeront neceſſaires a vôtre Excellence: car il n'y a perſonne qui ſoit avec plus d'eſtime & de verité que je ſuis, Monſieur, de vôtre Excellence,

Le Tres-humble & Tres-obeiſſant Serviteur,

R. BULSTRODE.

FINIS.

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